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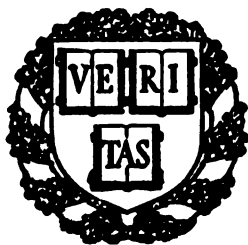
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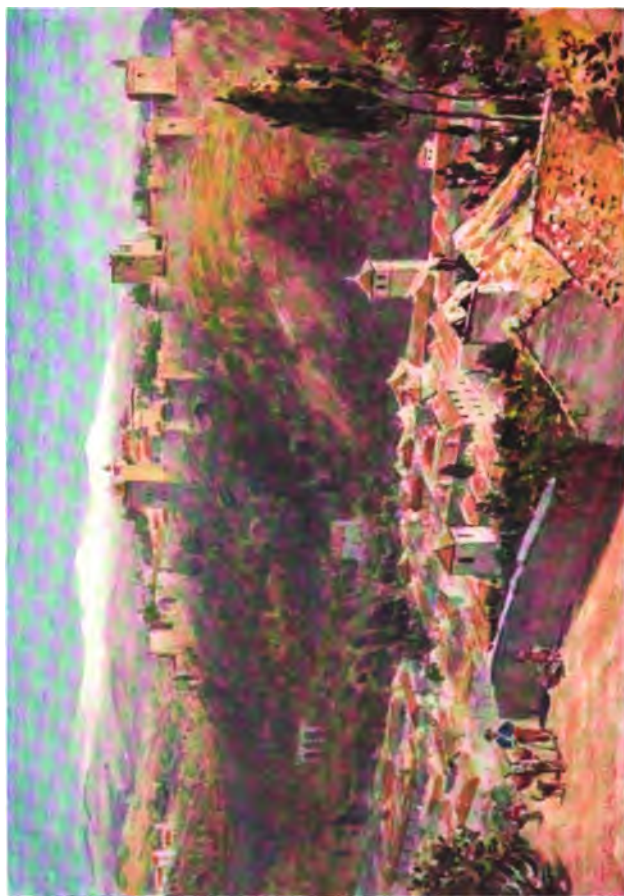
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General View of the Alhambra.

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GRANADA

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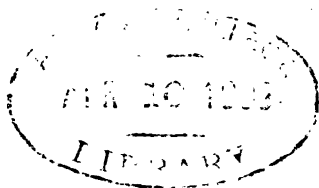
BY
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PREFACE

No city in Spain possesses so much fascination for the foreigner as the old Moorish capital of Granada. Toledo boasts a greater antiquity, Seville may flaunt a larger share of sensuous beauty, but the mysterious charm of the City of the Moor is irresistible. Few that set foot in the halls of the Alhambra escape the spell that legend has woven about the palace—the spell which inspired the pen of Washington Irving and by him communicated to his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries. Since Prescott revealed Granada as a second Troy and glorified the campaigns of the Catholic Sovereigns into a fifteenth-century Iliad, the keenest rays of criticism and the coldest surveys have failed to dispel the glamour which makes the city the Mecca of every pilgrimage beyond the Pyrenees.

To the Spaniard Granada is an epitome of seven centuries of national aspiration and endeavour. It is at once the coping stone of the edifice of Spanish nationality, the noblest monument of a vanished civilisation, the high-water mark of Moslem culture.

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The enchantment of the Alhambra has held me captive since my first visit, and consumed me with the desire to make better known its manifold beauties. At times, indeed, I have been accused of an excess of enthusiasm for my subject, but in the following pages I have endeavoured to approach the last stronghold of the Spanish Moor in a critical, if not entirely dispassionate, mood. And I have found (as others have found before me) that its beauty becomes the more admirable the better it is understood.

It has been with me a labour of love to bring together and to condense the appreciation of a variety of authors—English, French, Spanish, and German—who have written of the history and art of Granada. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to name all the works that I have consulted, but I take this opportunity of mentioning one among them, which, while it has been of exceptional value to me, seems to be hardly known outside the city of which it treats. I refer to the *Guía de Granada* by Don Francisco de P. Valladar, the learned and courteous annalist of the Province, to whom, with peculiar pleasure, I hasten to confess myself indebted.

With the aid of the text I hope that the visitor to Granada will be helped to a fuller appreciation of the city and its history, but as a souvenir of a visit

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this book will have its greater value in the pictures with which it is enriched. In my three previous publications on Granada and the Alhambra I relied almost entirely upon the art of the photographer, but in the present case I have invested the illustrations with a personal note by revealing the place with the assistance of contemporary artists. Of these pictures, all of which have been specially drawn for this book, the twenty coloured illustrations are by Mr. Trevor Haddon, R.B.A., and the black and white drawings are by him, Walker Hodgson, Louis Weirter, M. Green, F. H. Gallichan, and M. Reed.

My thanks are also due to Mr. E. B. d'Auvergne for his help in the revision of the text, and to C. Gasquoise Hartley, with whose assistance the chapter on Alonso Cano was prepared.

A. F. C.

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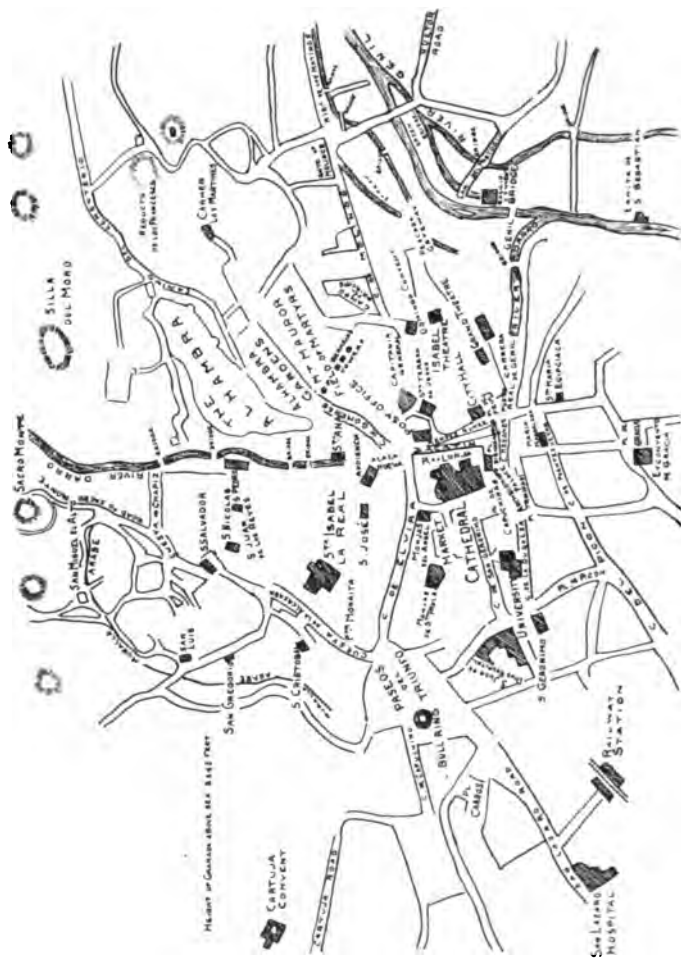
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GRANADA



Granada from the Torre de la Vela

GRANADA

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY

THE world knows nothing of the makers of its cities, and you may search in vain for any probable account of the founding of Granada. Speculation has, notwithstanding, been rife on the subject, and the recapitulation of the theories and guesses of various writers — some the most extravagant — would fill several pages. As late as 1842, I find the learned Don Jose Hidalgo de Morales gravely protesting against the summary dismissal of the genealogy which links up the city with the immediate descendants of Noah ; “ for,” says he, “ to deny a statement, without saying more than it is false because it does not

A

seem to me to be true, is to say nothing." The tradition which the empty sophistry of us moderns thus discredits, is this. Tubal, the grandson of Noah, peopled Spain in the Year of the World 1800; and Granada, according to such respectable authorities as St. Isidore, St. Jerome, and Pedro Arias Montano, was the first part of the country to receive inhabitants. Tubal was succeeded by Iberus who gave his name to the peninsula, and also to the town of Illiberis; though according to another "authority," this place was named after the wife of King Pyrrhus and daughter of King Hispan. Here we have not only the foundation of Granada but the nomenclature of many places in Spain accounted for in the simplest and most natural manner; for there undoubtedly was a city called Illiberis or Elvira in Visigothic and Roman times, and it was situated in the neighbourhood of Granada. Alfonso the Learned's theory that the south-east of Spain was colonised by the Egyptians is supported, or may have been suggested by Macrobius's statement that the tribes in this part worshipped the bull; which, in a very different sense, they continue to do.

Illiberis, which many historians have tried to identify with our city, was raised to the dignity of a municipium by Augustus, and we hear of an ecclesiastical council there in the fourth century. Doubt-



Granada from the Gipsy Quarter

less it suffered severely at the hands of the Vandals, from whom it was ultimately wrested by the Visigoths. By the time of the Moorish invasion, it had dwindled almost to insignificance. It was probably then that the modern town of Granada sprung into existence,



Villas on the Banks of the River Darro

for the Arabs, to overawe the neighbouring people, appear to have built a citadel which they called Karnattah al Yahûd, from the circumstance of its garrison being composed of Jews. The district, soon after the conquest, was allotted to Damascene settlers—that is, according to Moorish writers anxious to

exalt the lineage of their nation. The first settlers in Spain after the downfall of the Gothic monarchy, were in the main Berbers and, therefore, comparatively recent converts to Islam.

More obscurity and confusion attend the mediæval history of Granada than that of almost any other city



View from the Camino del Monte

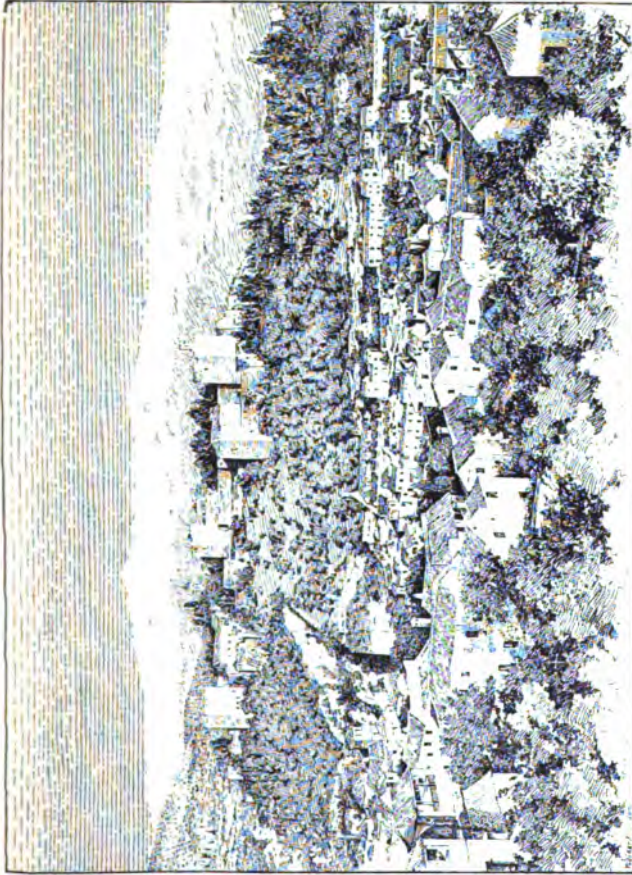
in the kingdom. It is seldom mentioned by contemporary writers, from which we may conclude that its days were untroubled and the ways of its men were peace. In the year 767 Ash Shebeni, the governor of Illiberis, built a castle at Granada. A hundred years later Andalusia was ravaged by the war waged by the natives, both Mohammedan and Christian—Mozarab and Muladi—against their Arabian rulers. Omar ben Hafsûn, a Goth by descent and nominally a Muslim by creed, put himself at the head of the

insurrection, and from his castle of Bobastro, near Malaga, made incessant forays into the enemy's country. Meantime the rebels under the command of one Nábil, presumably Omar's lieutenant, laid siege to Granada, which was held by the redoubtable chief, Sawar ben Hamdún al Kaysi. Ibn Hayyan, the historian, has preserved for us some exulting verses, which were attached to an arrow and shot over the walls by the besiegers. They run :—

“Deserted and roofless are the houses of our enemies ;
 Invaded by the autumnal rains, traversed by impetuous
 winds ;
 Let them within the *red castle* (Kalat al hamra) hold their
 mischievous councils ;
 Perdition and woe surround them on every side.”

This is the first occurrence of a name (al hamra = Alhambra) which afterwards loomed so large in the history of Granada ; and there can be little doubt that it was here applied to the castle built by Ash Shebeni, which some historians make out to be the Torres Bermejas and others the Kasba on the Alhambra hill itself.

The rising of native Muslims and Christians was extinguished in blood. But in 886 we hear of Omar ben Hafsún taking Alhamra from the Khalifa of Cordova, and a few years later extending his dominion over and beyond the Vega. His power was over-

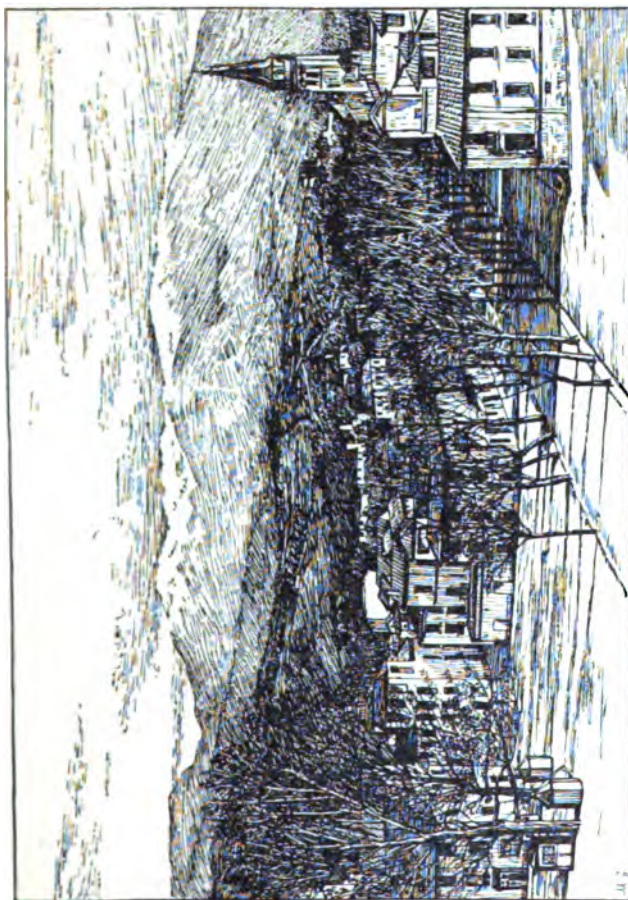


General View of the Alhambra and Sierra Nevada

thrown in 891, and he retired to his castle of Bobastro, where he died after returning to the fold of Christianity.

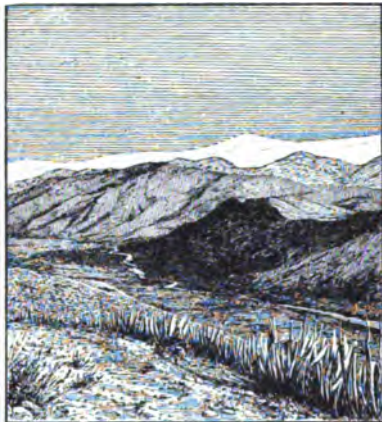
The distinction of first elevating Granada to the rank of an independent kingdom was reserved to a Berber chief of the tribe of Senhajah or Sinhasha, whose name is variously spelt Zawi ben Ziri and Zawi Ibn Zeyri. Having been governor of the province, on the virtual break-up of the empire of the Ummeyyads, he established himself as an independent ruler at Elvira (as Illiberis was now called) in the year 1013. The Visigothic city was now fast falling into decay. Ibn Hayyan, who had visited it half a century before, reports that he found none of its once imposing buildings standing, except the mosque whereon he read this inscription : " In the name of God the all mighty, the compassionate ! This mosque was erected at the command of the Amir Mohammed, son of Abd-ur-Rahman (on whom may God bestow favours !) in expectation of His munificent rewards, and for the greater comfort and convenience of his subjects. And the building was completed in the month of Dhilkada, in the year 250 [December 864], under the direction of Abdullah, his governor for the province of Elvira."

According to Gayangos, the seat of government was transferred from the moribund city to Granada by



The Sierra Nevada from the Alameda

Zawi's nephew and successor, Habus Ibn Makesen (1019-1037), who, after the fashion of the time, offered liberal inducements to settlers in his new capital.



General View of the Sierra Nevada and the River Genil

The history and personalities of the Amirs of the Zirite dynasty are involved in much obscurity. To Habus is attributed the founding of the Kasba in the Albaicin, a work extended by his son and successor Badis (1037-1072). This sovereign is also said to have erected and dwelt in the famous

Casa del Gallo de Viento, in the same quarter, which was surmounted by a bronze weathercock in the form of a mounted warrior. Pedraza, an old chronicler of Granada, repeats a rhyme which he avers to be a translation of the text beneath this warlike figure.

“Dice el sabio Aben Habuz,
Que así se defiende el Andaluz.”

This tradition no doubt suggested to Washington Irving one of his better-known legends. Badis, it is

agreed by all historians, considerably extended his kingdom in all directions and subjugated the mountaineers of the Alpujarras. Having added Malaga to his dominions, he tried conclusions with Motamid, the Abbadite sultan of Seville. The Grenadines were badly beaten at Cabra by their adversaries, thanks mainly to the prowess of Motamid's ally, Ruy Diaz de Vivar, who was on this occasion acclaimed the Cid (Sidi = lord) by the grateful Moors. The reign of Badis was also stained



A Peep at Granada from the Sacro Monte

by the massacre of the Jews of Elvira, to the number of 4000. This was provoked by the expulsion of a popular poet, Abu Ishak, by the Wizir, Yusuf ben Nagdela, who was, like many other men of rank and wealth in Granada, an Israelite. This was an early expression of that fanatical temper which distinguished the Muslims of Granada among their co-religionists all over Spain.

The Zirite monarchy was brought to an end by the Almoravide invaders, who, commanded by Ibrahim Abd-ul-Aziz, occupied Granada in the year 1090. The last king, Abdullah Ibn Balkin, fled to the Alpujarras, where for a time he carried on a guerrilla war-

fare. At last captured, he was sent to Africa, where he died (says Gayangos) at the castle of Aghmat. Under the Almoravides, Granada became a place of great importance, if it was not actually the seat of government. The Viceroy, Abdullah Ibn Ghániyyah, compared Spain to a shield of which Granada was the

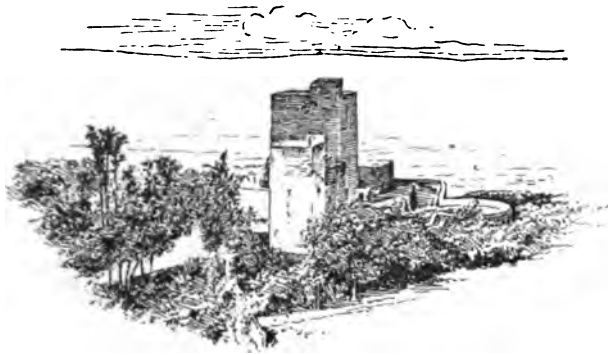


The Vermilion Towers

grip or arm-hole, adding, "Let us but hold the strap tight, and the shield will never drop from our arm." The saying is probably an invention, as nothing in the city's strategical position would warrant such a boast.

Their religious fervour intensified by the example of the new African sectaries, the Mohammedans of Granada turned their swords against their Christian fellow-townsmen, and razed to the ground their principal church situated outside the Bab Elvira. In

their despair the luckless Mozarabes (as the Christians under the Moorish yoke were called) sent secret embassies to Alfonso the Battler, King of Aragon, who marched to their assistance with a formidable army. The Almoravides were routed at Anzul, near Lucena, but the Spanish king, prosecuting the usual strategy



The Vermilion Towers

of his time, contented himself with wasting the Vega and then returned to his kingdom. The plight of the Christians of Granada was worse than ever as a result of this abortive campaign. The following year (1126) they were exiled by the thousand to Barbary, and those who remained were reduced to abject servitude.

Granada remained true to the Almoravides in their darkest hour. A pretender who had occupied the

Kasba was expelled, we are told, in 1145, by the garrison of the *old Kasba*, and routed at the battle of Almosala. When the last Amir of the race of Tashfin had ceased to reign, the loyal garrison of Granada continued to coin money with the inscription, "May God preserve the princes of the Muslims, the

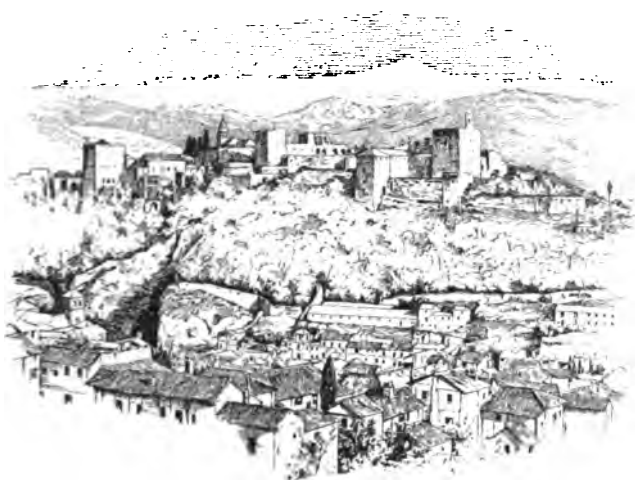


The Vermilion Towers

Beni Tashfin." The city held out till 1148, when it came into the possession of the Almohades.

The Grenadines could ill brook the yoke of these fierce Africans. In 1161, while their governor, Abu Saïd, was over in Barbary assisting his father the Khalifa, they allied themselves with the Jews and Christians, and admitted the Almoravide chief, Ibrahim Ibn Humushk within their walls. The Almohades shut themselves up within the Kasba,

where they were closely besieged by the insurgents. The first army of 20,000 men sent from Africa to their relief was defeated by Ibn Humushk at a place called Marcharocad (Merj-ur-Rokad). Ibn Mardanish, sultan of Murcia and Valencia, now joined forces with the



General View of the Alhambra and the Sierra Nevada

Grenadines, and assailed the Kasba from the ground afterwards covered by the Albaicin. But the garrison held out manfully, while the Khalifa sent a fresh army to their assistance. On the night of July 13, 1162, the Almohades surprised the camp of Humushk and Mardanish, and routed them with immense slaughter. The Murcian king barely escaped with his

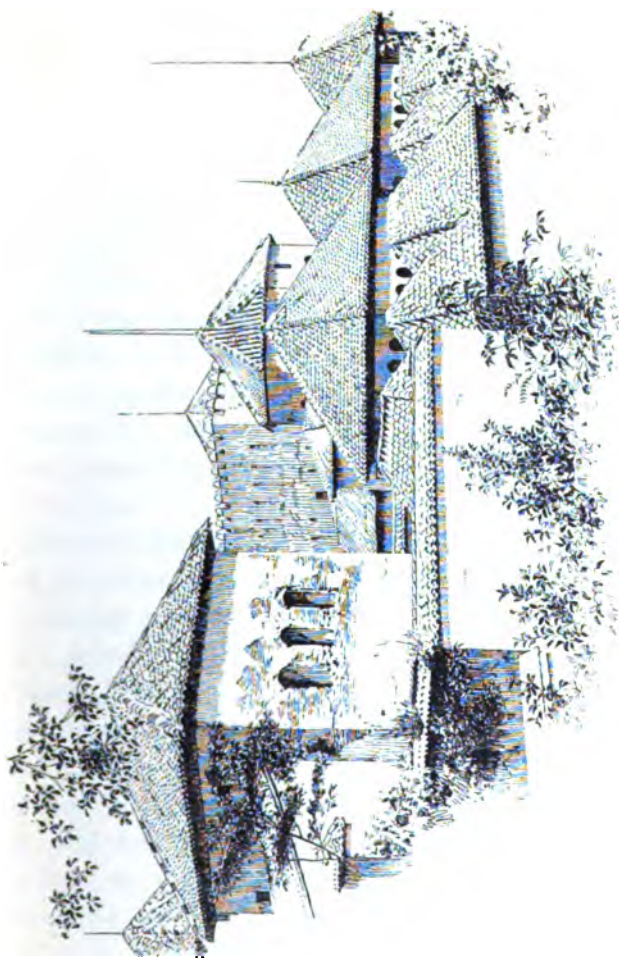
life to Jaen, and his unfortunate Christian allies were almost exterminated.

The Almohades now made some efforts to conciliate a population as fierce and warlike as themselves. One of their governors, Sidi Abu Ibrahim Ishak, is said to have been a wise and beneficent ruler, and adorned the city with gardens, mosques, colleges, and palaces. For himself he built a sumptuous residence on the banks of the Genil, called the Kasr-es-Sid, not neglecting to strengthen the fortifications of the Kasba, to which at any moment a rising of the turbulent Grenadines might have compelled him to fly. But the reign of the Almohades was short lived. The downfall of the empire had already been predicted by a Jewish astrologer, who announced that it would be accomplished by a man of Andalusian birth, named Mohammed Ibn Yusuf. Professional prophets are seldom so precise in their indications. Diligent search was made for all persons answering to the description, who, as soon as found, were handed over to the executioner. The prophecy, notwithstanding, was verified in the person of Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Ben Hud, a descendant of the emirs of Zaragoza. This powerful chief had already possessed himself of extensive districts on the east coast of Spain, and profiting by the death struggle in which the Almohades were engaged with foes in



The Alhambra.

The Vermillion Towers from
the Ramparts.



Exterior of the Alhambra

B

Africa, seized upon the cities of Cordova, Jaen, and Granada in the year 1228.

The prospects of Ben Hud were soon clouded by the rise of Mohammed al Ahmar, a young man of Arjona, who raised the flag of revolt in his native town and soon secured a considerable following. On all sides adventurers and pretenders were rising, hoping to carve for themselves kingdoms out of the crumbling empire of the Almohades. Al



The Alhambra from the Cuesta del Rey Chico

Ahmar allied himself

with the enemies of Ben Hud, and succeeded for a brief interval in reigning over Seville. From that city he was expelled, but he forced Ben Hud to take refuge in Almeria, where he caused him to be assassinated in the year 1237. The next year Al Ahmar extended his authority over Granada. City after city threw open its gates to him, including Malaga and Almeria, and in 1241 he was recognised

as lord over all the lands between the upper reaches of the Guadalquivir and the Strait of Gibraltar, between Ronda and Baza. In all directions the crescent was going down before the cross. St. Ferdinand was thundering at the gates of Seville, Castilian lances were pricking across the Vega. Instinctively the children of Islam turned their eyes towards the adventurer of Arjona, recognising in him their last bulwark against the Christian. Nor were their hopes deceived. Out of the last fragments of the Muslim empire, in the hour of extremest peril, Al Ahmar founded a state which for over two centuries withstood the flowing tide of Christian victory.

It is to the dynasty of the Nasrids, founded by this able sovereign, that Granada owes not only its fame but its noblest monuments. On the banks of the Genil and the Darro, Islam in Spain knew an Indian summer, an after-glow of the glory that had been in the days of Abdurrahman and Al Mansûr. Hitherto little better than an obscure provincial town, it now became known as one of the most beautiful and populous of the capitals of Europe, and the nucleus of a state where Muslim civilisation reached its zenith.

Al Ahmar's name in full is given as Abu Abdullah Mohammed ben Yusuf ben al Ahmar—the latter being the name of his tribe. He is said to have been

descended from the Khoreish tribe to which belonged the Prophet—a distinction claimed, it should be mentioned, for almost every man of eminence among the



The Alhambra from San Nicolás

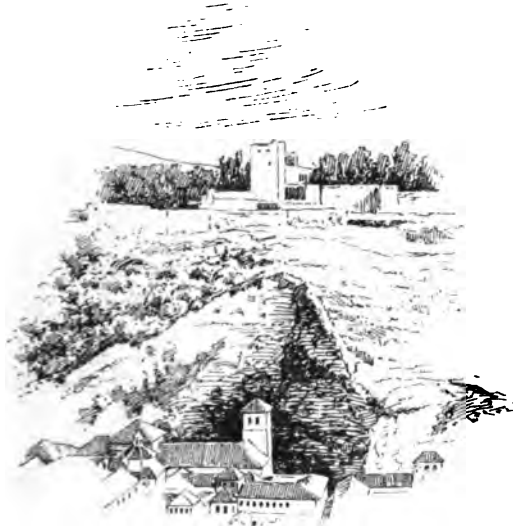
Muslims. But the founder of the sultanate of Granada has sufficient titles of his own to respect and admiration without borrowing any such from his forebears. He was a great man in every sense. Arabic writers

extol the beauty and dignity of his person, the charm of his manner, his simple and temperate habits. That he was a foe to luxury we are told, but cannot so easily credit, seeing that it is to him we owe the Alhambra, most beautiful of Moslem palaces. He possessed statesmanlike qualities of a high order. It was no mean diplomacy that arrested the irresistible Ferdinand in his career of conquest, and obtained his consent to the establishment of a rallying point for the disheartened and broken Muslims on Spanish soil. True the price paid for such a concession was heavy enough. Al Ahmar had perforce to cede many of his conquests to the north and west, especially in the valley of the Guadalquivir; and, harder still, to march with the Castilian king against the Mohammedans of Seville, assisting at their downfall and subjection. But even this humiliating, not to say dishonourable condition, he knew how to turn to good account; for he induced many thousands of the conquered citizens to emigrate to his own dominions, strengthening his own power thereby and averting the maledictions which might have been hurled at him as a traitor to Islam. Al Ahmar seems early to have perceived that a state as limited in extent as his own could subsist only by virtue of an unusual density of population. Granada was the last stronghold of Islam in Europe, and its ruler despised no



Ascent to the Alhambra by the Cuesta del Rey Chico

means of safeguarding it. He despatched embassies to the powerful African princes, whose kingdoms, like his own, had been reared on the shattered fabric of the Almohade empire ; but it is doubtful if he went



The Alhambra and Generalife from San Miguel

so far as to invite their intervention, knowing that such must have been the prelude to the absorption of his own dominions. He neglected no means of conciliating Ferdinand III. He acknowledged himself his vassal, and bound himself and his successors to attend the Cortes if called upon. His supremely difficult task he accomplished to perfection ; and the

monument to his genius was a kingdom which, shut in between the sea and its implacable and powerful foes, and torn by incessant internecine disorders, defied its fate for two hundred and fifty years.

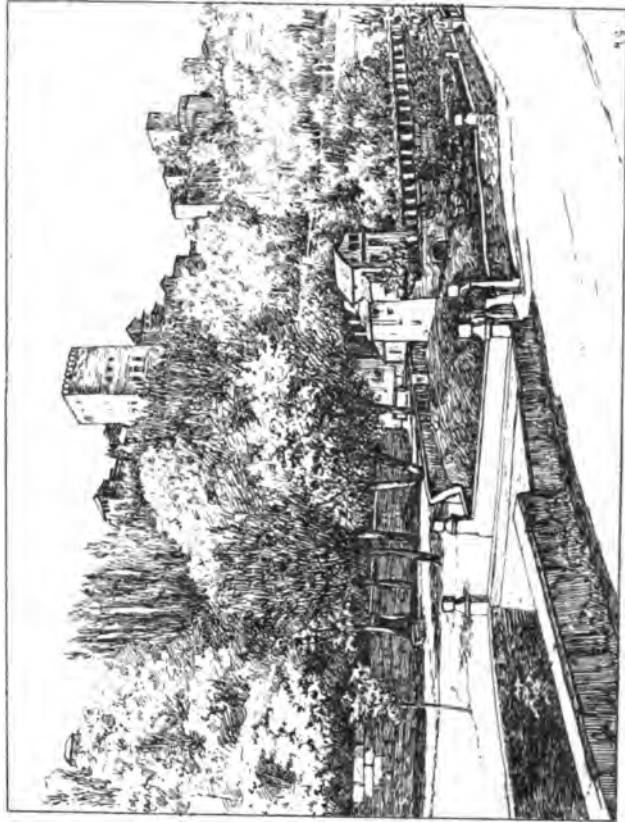
Al Ahmar's reign was long, and allowed him but the briefest snatches of repose. Despite his earnest



A Glimpse of the Alhambra from the Sacro Monte

endeavours to preserve peace, the temper of his subjects and the political agitation of his time compelled him again and again to draw the sword. Studios of the interests of his country, when King Alfonso's rebellious brother, Don Enrique, sought refuge at his court, he passed him on to Tunis, with letters cordially recommending him to the Emir of that country. Yet he could not remain deaf to the

appeals of his co-religionists of Jerez and Arcos, who besought him to relieve them from the Christian yoke. The campaign was well planned. The rising of the Muslims took place simultaneously at such distant points as Murcia, Lorca, Arcos, and Lebrija. Al Ahmar crushed a Spanish force within sight of his capital, and harried the frontiers of Castile. But in his distribution of rewards he was so unfortunate as to offend his powerful vassals, the Walis of Guadix, Malaga, and Comares, who joined their forces with those of the enemy. Al Ahmar was obliged to relinquish his conquests and would have been obliged to recognise the independence of the revolted governors, had not an insurrection in Castile distracted Alfonso's attention, and disposed him to agree to moderate conditions of peace. But the Walis, thus deserted by their Christian ally, continued the struggle, and Al Ahmar, in desperation, appealed for help to Abu Yusuf, the Sultan of Morocco. But before assistance could reach him, he resolved on a final effort to crush the rebels single-handed. An old man of eighty, enfeebled with disease, he rode forth from Granada at the head of his army, for the last time. Falling from his horse, he lingered until sundown, and in the arms of his ally, the Infante Don Felipe, breathed his last by the roadside. That night his body was conveyed to Granada, and buried in the cemetery of



The Alhambra from the Cuesta del Chapiz

the Assabica beneath a marble tomb, the epitaph on which proclaimed him to be the strength of Islam, the glory of the day and night, the sword of truth, and the splendour of the law.

This great man was succeeded by his son who, at the age of thirty-eight years, began his reign under the style of Mohammed II. on January 21, 1273. He



The Alhambra from San Nicolás

owed his elevation to his father's throne largely to Don Felipe and other Christian refugees, for a strong party of Moors favoured the pretensions of the Wali of Malaga, hoping by his election to terminate the division of the kingdom. The new sultan rewarded one of his most prominent supporters, Don Nuño de Lara, by the gift of a magnificent palace, the name of which was long remembered in Granada. Mohammed II. was surnamed the Alfaki or Jurist, on account of his having made a special study of the law. He had

long been associated in the government with his father, and was scarcely inferior to him in valour and statecraft. He loved the arts and letters, and surrounded himself with an elegant court. Yet most of his reign of twenty-nine years must have been passed in the camp. To secure his person, he maintained a guard officered by men either of his own family or related to the African dynasty of the Beni Merin. Thus accompanied he severely chastised the rebel Walis at Antegnera, and then visited Alfonso X. at Seville in the hope of finally detaching him from his alliance with the defeated insurgents. He was partially successful, but was outwitted by a woman's ruse. Queen Violante of Castile, at the conclusion of his stay, asked of him a boon, which as a true knight, according to the custom of the times, he was obliged to grant. He then learnt to his dismay that he had conceded a year's truce to the men who were dismembering his kingdom. Smouldering with wrath, he returned to his capital, and matured plans for the final destruction of his enemies. This he hoped to effect with the help of the Sultan of Morocco, who, with a large army, landed at his request at Tarifa. But the rebel Walis immediately presented themselves at his ally's court, and were received more cordially than his own envoys. The Muslim sovereigns, however, at length agreed to suspend their mutual differ-

ences and to make common cause against the Christian. In the campaign that followed, Mohammed's old friend, Don Nuño de Lara, was defeated and killed at Ecija. The Africans sent his head to Granada, where Mohammed ordered it to be treated with respect and sent in a silver casket to Cordova. The generous sultan gained a signal victory at Alcala de Abenzaide over the Infante Sancho, who was left dead on the field; but the supine and treacherous



The Alhambra from San Nicolás

attitude of his allies robbed him of the fruits of victory. The Africans presently recrossed the strait, leaving garrisons in Tarifa, Algeciras, and Malaga. Mohammed succeeded, by bribing the governor, in repossessing himself of the latter town; and by force and negotiation recovered Comares and Guadix. He paid a visit to the court of Fez, and was presented with a highly prized copy of the Koran. More fighting with the Christians followed. We find Mohammed at one time in alliance with the Spaniards against the Africans, at another time coming to his co-religionists' assistance when they were besieged in Algeciras. He

recovered that port on the payment of an indemnity to his quondam allies, and at his death in 1302, could have boasted that he had not lost an inch of the territory left to him by his father.

Mohammed III. was a prince of at least as much capacity as his father, and remarkable for his energy



The Alhambra and Granada from the Generalife

even as one of an energetic race. He is said to have frequently passed the whole twenty-four hours occupied with the cares of state, while the ministers relieved each other in their attendance upon him. He gave early proof of his vigour by the capture of the town of Almandhar, where he obtained possession of a beautiful Christian girl, who afterwards became the sultana of an African monarch. Ibn Nasr, the

governor of Guadix, having caught the fever of treason which seemed endemic within that town, was summoned to the Alhambra, and decapitated in the presence of his sovereign without warning or prepara-



The Alhambra and Generalife from the Gipsy Quarter

tion. A more honourable exploit was Mohammed's conquest of the town of Ceuta opposite Gibraltar in May 1306. With the immense treasure amassed within the walls of the conquered town, he erected a mosque on the Alhambra, resplendent with marble and jasper, gold and silver. The principal inhabitants of Ceuta were brought over to swell the population of Granada.



The Alhambra from the Fountain of Avellano

Such good fortune was not to last. The governor of Almeria revolted and offered to surrender the town to the King of Aragon, who immediately marched an army to his assistance. At the same time the Castilians laid siege to Algeciras. Assailed on both sides, Mohammed III. could do nothing to avert the taking of Gibraltar or the siege

of Ceuta. He purchased peace by surrendering four fortresses and paying five thousand gold doubloons. On his return after this humiliating peace to his

capital, he was seized in the royal apartments by a band of conspirators, who murdered his wizar, El Lakshmi, and constrained him to abdicate in favour of his brother, Abu-l-Juy-yush Muley Nasr. The same night he quitted the Alhambra and retired soon after to the town of Almuñecar.

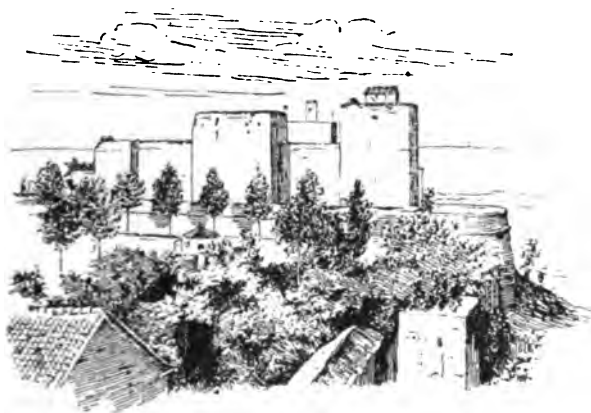


The Alhambra and Valley of the Darro

Nasr, who thus ascended the throne on April 11, 1307, began his reign with a signal success. He attacked Don Jaime before Almeria, and forced him to raise the siege. But the example he had so lately

given was speedily followed, and the news reached him of a formidable conspiracy, at the head of which was his sister's son, Abu-l-Walid. At this juncture, Nasr had a stroke of apoplexy and was thought to

be dead. Some courtiers immediately set off to Almuñecar, and brought back Mohammed III. with shouts of joy and triumph. To their consternation they entered the palace to find that the usurper was in possession of his life and authority. Mohammed, according to some authorities, was murdered and his



The Alhambra

body thrown into the pond in the Court of Myrtles ; according to others, he was sent back to Almuñecar, where he died soon after. Nasr did not long enjoy his ill-acquired power. The partisans of Abu-l-Walid approached the city, where the citizens, inspired by hatred of the Wizir Mohammed ben Ali el Hajji, received them with joy. Nasr was besieged in the citadel, whence he appealed in vain for help to Pedro

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of Castile. He capitulated and abdicated at length, on condition of his being assigned the town of Guadix as a residence. Usurper though he may have been, Nasr conducted himself upon his downfall with the stoicism of a philosopher. He patriotically refused to assist Pedro, when the latter, at last and too late, responded to his call, and he evinced the liveliest



The Alhambra

concern for the welfare of his country. He expressed satisfaction that he had been allowed to atone in this life for the wrong he had done his brother; and expired, mourned by very few, in the year 1322. His funeral prayer was pronounced by his rival and successor. According to Al Khattib, Nasr was a skilled astronomer and mathematician, and expert at constructing scientific instruments.

Abu-l-Walid was before all things a fighter. He believed, he declared, only in God and his sword.

He regarded the Christians as a pestilent race whom it was his duty to destroy. He was repulsed in an attack on Gibraltar, but in the year 1319, cut to pieces a Castilian army which had invaded the Vega. The bodies of the Infantes Pedro and Juan were found among the slain. The head of the first-named prince was exposed on the city walls. This signal victory is commemorated in the inscriptions in the Generalife. Abu-l-Walid followed up his success by taking Baza and Martos, putting all the Christian population to the sword. The moral effect of these victories was immense. At Baza, the Moorish king had brought artillery into action for the first time in Spain, and Martos had hitherto been considered an invincible fortress.

The victorious sultan made his entry into Granada amidst frenzied rejoicings. Among the spoils of war he valued nothing more highly than a girl of surpassing beauty, whom, like another Agamemnon, he had torn from the arms of one of his officers. Three days after his return, he was struck down at the door of the Alhambra by the poniard of the man he had injured, his assassin escaping before the guards had heard their sovereign's cries. Another account has it that the sultan was murdered as he went from his harem to the audience chamber by a cousin whom he had publicly reproached with cowardice in a

skirmish before Martos. To avert the evils of a disputed succession, the Wizir did not disclose the fatal character of the monarch's wounds till he had obtained, on the strength of an alleged royal command, an oath

of allegiance from the notables of the kingdom to Abu-l-Walid's eldest son, the boy prince, Muley Mohammed ben Ismail. When this command had been obeyed by all, the minister was able to announce the death of Abu-l-Walid and the accession of Mohammed IV.



The Alhambra from the Cuesta
del Chapiz

The young sultan succeeded his father in July 1325. The earlier years of his reign were troubled by the rivalry of the Wizir, Mohammed ben al Maruk and the famous captain, Osmin Abu-l-Ola, the

commander of the African troops in the Grenadine service. The minister superseded Osmin in his command and the angry chief, immediately rallying his partisans, plunged the country into civil war. Peace was only secured by the sacrifice of the unfortunate Wizir, and the restoration of Osmin to his former rank. The Chris-



The Alhambra from the Cuesta del Chapiz

tians, meantime, took advantage of these dissensions to invade the young sultan's dominions, while the African allies of the rebels seized Algeciras, Marbella, and Ronda. Displaying incredible vigour and celerity, Mohammed IV. recovered these places one after the other, defeated the Castilians in several pitched battles, and reduced Baena in 1329. He failed, however, to raise the siege of Gibraltar, which was at



Entrance to the Avenues of the Alhambra

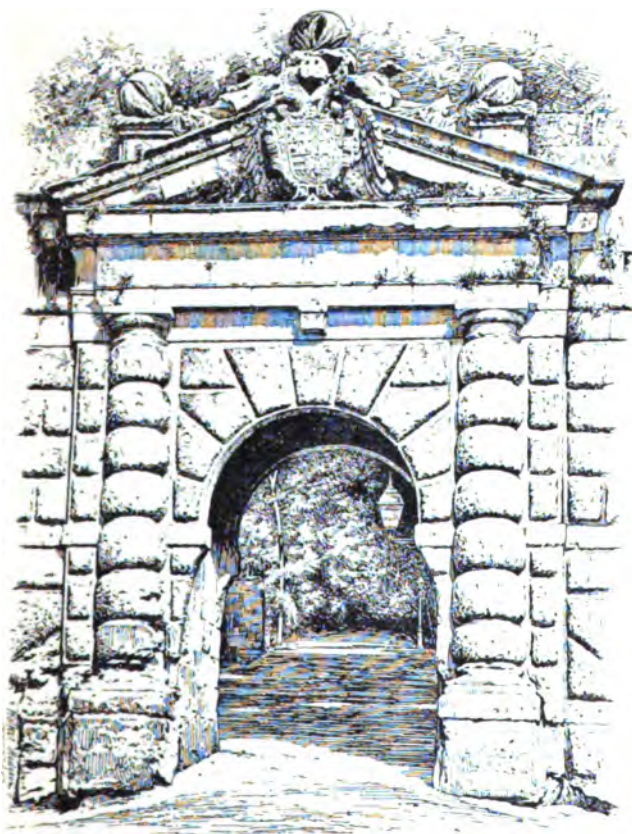
length saved from the Spaniards and occupied by the forces of Abu-l-Hasan, Sultan of Morocco. A few years later the position was reversed, and it was Mohammed who relieved the African garrison when closely beleaguered by the Castilians. But for this success he paid dearly. He jestingly taunted his allies with their inability to defend the fortress ; and a day or two later, having sent his army home, and meditating a visit to Morocco, he made an excursion to the summit of the Rock. He was followed by the



Avenues of the Alhambra

officers whom he had reproached, and thrown, pierced with dagger thrusts, over the cliff. His body was taken to Malaga, but no attempt seems to have been made to identify or to punish his assassins.

He was succeeded on August 24, 1333, by his brother Yusuf I. (Abu-l-Hejaj), whose first care was to expel the turbulent brood of Osmin Abu-l-Ola. To this step he was urged probably not so much by animosity as by that ardent detestation of strife, which characterised him before all the princes of his race. He believed, says Don Francisco Pi y Margall, that it is more glorious to remedy evils than to attempt hazardous enterprises. Concluding a truce with Alfonso XI., he devoted himself to the betterment of the condition of his subjects and to the cultivation of the arts and sciences. Assisted by his able Wizir, Redwan, he revised and simplified the laws, and purified the administration in every department. He built a magnificent palace at Malaga, and a mosque on the Alhambra of which no trace remains. Thanks to the general prosperity of the country, he was able to dispose of wealth so enormous that his contemporaries supposed it to be produced by the transmutation of metals. Yet in his reign the Muslim power received its crushing blow. A final attempt to recover Spain was made by the African princes, whose vast host Yusuf I. was reluctantly obliged to join. The dis-



Gate of Las Granadas. Approach to the Alhambra

astrous defeat of the Salado followed, and the Sultan of Granada only obtained peace by surrendering Algeciras to the Castilians in 1348. Ten years later he followed his enemy, Alfonso XI., to the tomb. As he knelt at prayer in the little mosque adjoining the Patio del Mexuar, a maniac rushed in upon him, and in spite of a manly resistance, left him bathed in blood. A few hours later he breathed his last in the arms of his attendants, while his murderer was burnt by his infuriated subjects. In Yusuf I. Granada lost one of her best monarchs and noblest sons.

We now approach a dreary and confused period of the city's history, when personal ambition stifled every sentiment of patriotism and the ultimate extinction of the Muslim power in Spain was plainly foreshadowed. Mohammed V. began his reign under the most favourable auspices, at peace with the neighbouring states, and ready and anxious to continue the good work of his father. Certain chiefs, to whom his disciplinary measures had given umbrage, took counsel together, and approached the late sultan's younger and favourite son, Prince Ismail, who appears to have inhabited the palace of which the Torre de las Damas formed part. On the night of August 11, 1360, the conspirators to the number of one hundred, scaled the walls of the Kasba (Alcazaba), murdered the Wizir, and proclaimed Ismail sultan. Mohammed,

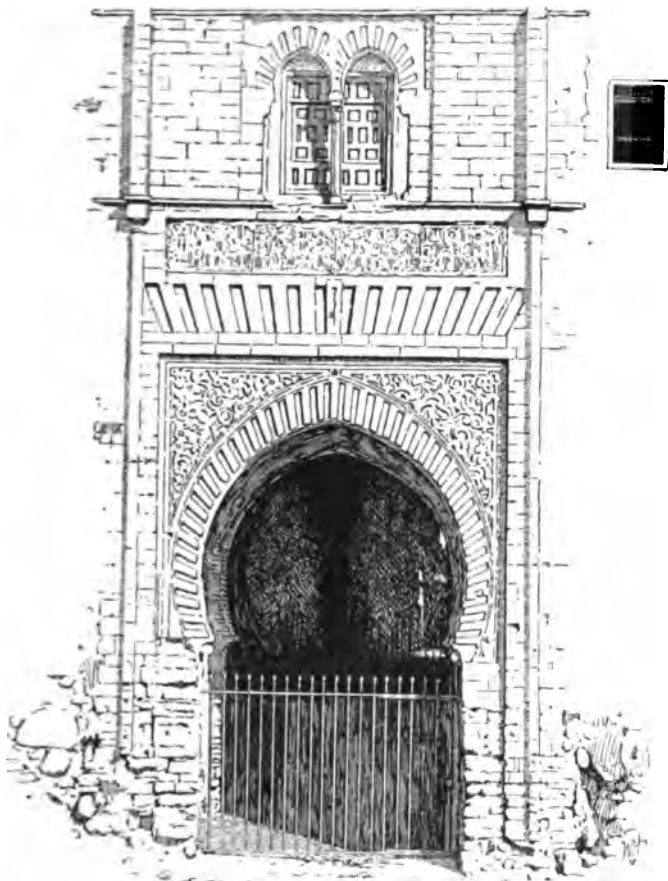
who was passing the night in the gardens of the Generalife, attempted to re-enter the fortress, but being received with a flight of arrows, mounted a fleet horse and rode for his life. In the morning he reached Guadix, where he was loyally received. From Guadix he fled to Marbella, thence to Africa, where he was lent troops to recover his kingdom by Abu-l-Hasan of Fez. With these auxiliaries he had no sooner landed in Spain, than they were recalled, and the dethroned monarch could only throw himself with a few faithful followers into Ronda. In the meantime Ismaïl II. had quarrelled with his chief partisan, Abu Saïd, who besieged him in his palace and proclaimed himself sultan. Ismaïl, attempting a sally, was taken prisoner and put to death. A new actor now appeared on the troubled stage in the person of Pedro the Cruel of Castile, who marched across the border to reinstate the legitimate sultan. But Mohammed, beholding the territory of his subjects



Gate of Las Granadas. Entrance to the Avenue of the Alhambra

devastated by the Christians, was filled with remorse, and implored his ally to retire. "For no empire in the world would I sacrifice my country," he exclaimed. "I would prefer to live in exile than to reign over a ruined state." Abu Saïd, misunderstanding very probably the cause of Pedro's retreat, paid him a visit at Seville, with a brilliant retinue, and solicited his alliance. The splendour of his guest's equipment and apparel excited the Castilian king's cupidity. Abu Saïd was suddenly seized, bound to a post, and stabbed to death with lances. His chief nobles were butchered in the Alcazar. By this act of perfidy Pedro became possessed of the famous ruby, which afterwards passed into the hands of the Black Prince, and now adorns the English regalia.

On the news of the usurper's murder, Mohammed V. returned to Granada, where he was enthusiastically received. Henceforward his star was in the ascendant. He crushed a rising fomented by Ali ben Nasr, and in 1370, his ally Don Pedro being dead, attacked and levelled the fortifications of Algeciras. The remaining twenty years of his reign were years of abundance and untroubled prosperity. Granada was adorned with splendid buildings, with charitable institutions and asylums. The city in the words of the contemporary historian, Al Khattib, became the metropolis



The Puerta del Vino

of the Mediterranean, the emporium of commerce, the common fatherland of all nations. Men of all creeds and races frequented its markets, and dwelt in



The Puerta del Vino

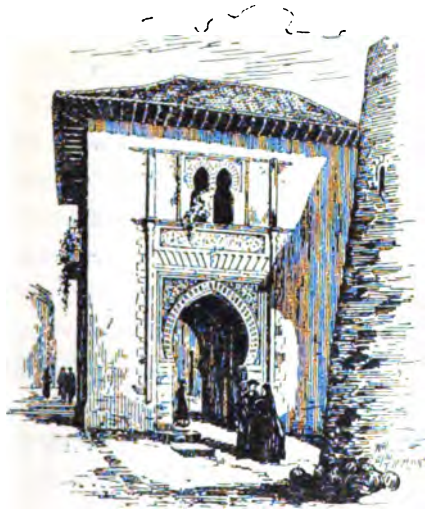
security under Mohammed's mild and tolerant rule. It was the Indian summer of Islam in Spain. When Mohammed's son was married to the daughter of the Sultan of Fez, knights flocked from all parts of Europe



The Alhambra

Gate of Justice and the Emperor's Fountain.

and the East to take part in the festivities. The silk trade flourished and provided employment for thousands of the citizens. The population of the city about this time was estimated by Mendoza at 70,000 hearth-fires, or about 420,000 souls. This is no doubt



The Puerta del Vino. After a drawing by T. R. Macquoid

an exaggeration, but it is probable that the population reached at least to half that figure. But the kingdom had now risen to its zenith. Thence to its nadir the descent was rapid.

Yusuf II., who succeeded his father in 1391, was suspected of an attachment to the Christians, mainly,

it seems, on account of his aversion to war. On the truce being renewed with the King of Castile, he released all the Christian captives and sent them home with rich presents to their sovereign. This was the signal for an outbreak headed by his younger son, Mohammed. The peace-loving monarch was disposed to abdicate rather than draw the sword, but was persuaded at last by the Moroccan ambassador to take a manlier course. Putting himself at the head of the army, he made a successful foray into Murcia, and in the eyes of his subjects redeemed his character. It was unfortunate for Granada that she was not ruled at this moment by a more warlike sovereign; for the state might have been permanently strengthened at the expense of Castile, whose monarch was at that time Enrique III., the feeblest prince who ever ruled in Spain. It was in defiance of this king's express orders that the prototype of Don Quixote, Don Martin de la Barbuda, the Master of Calatrava, directed his wild expedition into Yusuf's territory. The success promised the hare-brained knight by a crazy hermit did not attend him, and the little band of Crusaders was cut to pieces. In the following year (1395) Yusuf the Peaceable died, being poisoned, it is said, by herbs sent to him by the Sultan of Fez.

The reins of government were at once seized by his

warlike younger son, Mohammed, to the exclusion of the elder Yusuf, who was confined in the castle of Salobreña. The new sultan was a man of a different stamp from his father. With twenty-five horsemen he rode to Toledo, and presenting himself to the astonished Enrique III., obtained a renewal of the truce. This, however, was soon broken by the governor of Andalusia, who made an incursion into the Moorish territory. Mohammed retaliated by taking the fortress of Ayamonte. A desperate but indecisive battle was fought at Collejares. The Moors were beaten at Jijena, and the sultan, for all his valour, was obliged to sue for peace. Finding himself at the point of death, he resolved to secure the succession to his son by a fratricide. He despatched a messenger to Salobreña, with orders to the governor to put his brother to death. Yusuf and his gaoler were playing chess together when the emissary arrived. On being acquainted with the nature of his mission, the prince, with great composure, asked permission to finish the game before his execution. This modest request was granted, and before either player could cry "checkmate!" a second messenger arrived to



At the Puerta del
Vino

D

announce the death of Mohammed III. and the proclamation of Yusuf III. as sultan.

This pacific sovereign had to face some of the most determined attempts on the independence of his kingdom. The important town of Antequera was besieged and taken by the Castilians under the Infante

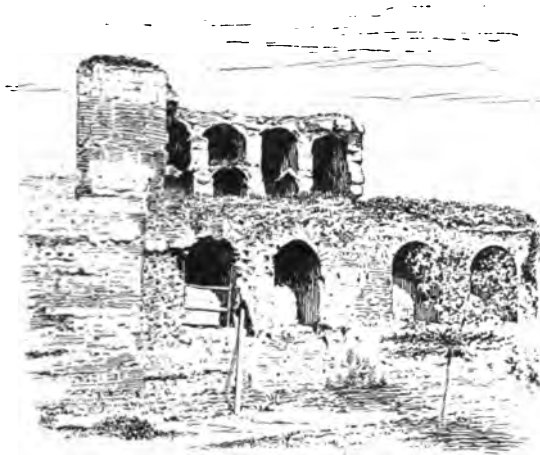


The Ramparts, and Torre de la Vela

Fernando. After an heroic defence the garrison were put to the sword, only 2638 of the inhabitants surviving the horrors of the siege and being permitted to take refuge in Granada, where the suburb of Antequeruela was named after them.

Things would have gone hard with Yusuf III. had he not found a powerful ally as the result of an act of generosity. The people of Gibraltar revolted against Granada, and proclaimed themselves the sub-

jects of Fez. The sultan of that country sent his hated brother Abu Saïd to defend the town against Yusuf, and, treating him as David did Uriah, left him at the mercy of the enemy. Abu Saïd was taken a prisoner to Granada, where soon after his captor

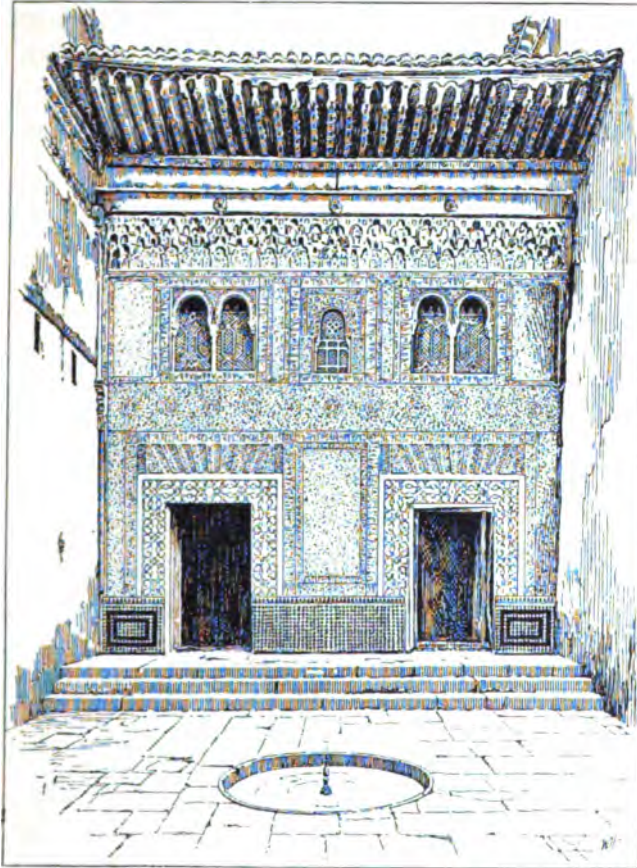


The Torre del Homenaje

showed him a letter in which the Sultan of Fez requested that he might be poisoned. Far from complying with this request, Yusuf provided the prince with money and soldiers, with which he departed for Africa. His treacherous brother was driven from the throne by Abu Saïd, who henceforward remained the sworn ally of Granada. Yusuf was therefore secured from molestation on the part of Castile and Aragon

for the rest of his reign. He indulged his subjects in martial sports and exercises, and we read of his presiding over a joust between Christian knights on the Plaza de Bivarambla, when both combatants expressed themselves as satisfied with the fairness of the Moorish umpire's decision. From these brave doings, Yusuf III. was suddenly called away by a stroke of apoplexy in the year 1423.

The history of the doomed sultanate is henceforward dreary reading. Yusuf III. was succeeded by his son, Mohammed, reckoned the seventh of that name, by those who deny the title of Mohammed VI. to Abu Saïd, the usurper slain at Seville. Few princes have had a more chequered career than this despotic sultan, who did his best to merit misfortune by his harshness and contemptuous bearing. He was speedily driven from the throne by a namesake styled as the eighth of his name, and sought refuge in Africa. Mohammed VIII., while courting the favour of the populace, mortally offended the powerful family of the Beni Serraj (Abencerrages), by whose instrumentality the son of Yusuf III. was restored. A Castilian army ravaged the Vega up to the walls of Granada. The capital itself would have fallen, had not Juan II. and his general, the great Alvaro de Luna, been recalled to Castile by the disorders that ended in the latter's overthrow. An earthquake next de-



Façade in the Patio del Mexuar

vastated the devoted kingdom. A fresh revolution broke out. Mohammed VII. retired to Malaga, leaving the Alhambra in the possession of another pretender, Yusuf IV. The new reign lasted but six



Patio del Mexuar. West

months, and Mohammed returned for the second time to his capital. The war with Castile was renewed, and on the whole favourably for the Moslems, who routed their opponents at Illora, Archidona, and Castril. But the unlucky monarch alienated his chief supporters, the Beni Serraj, and for the third and last time was de-

prived of his throne by his ambitious nephew, Aben Osmin, who was proclaimed as Mohammed IX. Considerable success at first attended this sultan's arms, in spite of the defection of the Beni Serraj, who, regretting the part they had taken in the deposition of the old ruler, had retired to Montefrio. One of their number, Abdhelvar, continued to serve Osmin, out of love for a lady of his faction ; but he suffered a bloody defeat at the hands of the

Castilians at Alporchones, and expiated his failure with his life. Mohammed IX., after the barbarous



Patio del Mexuar

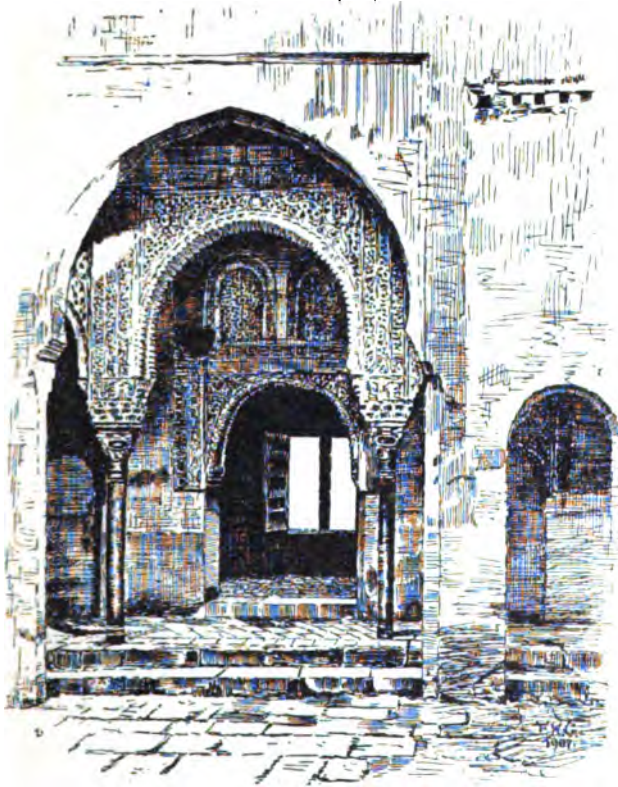
execution of this luckless officer, conducted himself after the fashion of a Caligula or Domitian. The

victims of his tyranny rallied at Montefrio, where they acclaimed as monarch a member of the royal family variously called Saïd and Mohammed ben Ismail. With the assistance of the Castilians, the new faction triumphed, and Osmin was glad to escape with his life.

Saïd was a well-intentioned ruler, who saw that Granada's only chance of survival lay in peace. But this was not easily obtained. Heavy tribute was paid to Enrique IV., Christian captives were released—all in vain. The sultan's efforts were thwarted by his ferocious and fanatical son, Muley Hasan. Jaen and Gibraltar were lost. Archidona fell, and its intrepid commandant, Ibrahim, seeing himself conquered, leaped to his death, like another Marcus Curtius, armed and mounted on his war-horse into the depths of a chasm. At last the unhappy Saïd sought an interview with the King of Castile at the very gates of Granada and obtained not merely a truce but an alliance. The rest of his reign he devoted to the encouragement of commerce, industry, and agriculture, to heal the dreadful wounds left by years of ceaseless warfare. His labours did not profit even those who were to succeed him. Saïd died at Almeria in 1465. The knell of the Moorish empire in Europe was sounded over his bier.

The history of the reigns of Ali Abu-l-Hasan, of

Mohammed X., and Mohammed XI. (1465-1492) is the record of the subjugation and extinction of the



Entrance to the Patio del Mexuar

kingdom. The story of its fall has filled many volumes, and has been penned by the writers of all

lands. It seems, in fact, to have excited more general interest than the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, or the more recent subversion of the kingdom of Poland. The episodes of the conquest have been made familiar to English-speaking readers by



A Window of the "Mosque"

the works of Prescott, which every one visiting Granada is, of course, under a virtual necessity to read. The melancholy story is long drawn out and confused, and the accounts of Moorish and Christian historians are often at direct variance. Many idle legends also have been mixed up with both versions, and undue importance is attached even by Prescott to what were in reality unimportant skirmishes.

Ali Abu-l-Hasan was a sovereign of a different character from his father's. He was a zealous Muslim, and heartily detested the unbelievers. His capacity for war was soon illustrated by the successes he achieved over the feeble Enrique IV., and by his crushing a rebellion at Malaga. His statecraft was not equal to his military genius, for he let slip the golden opportunity presented by the disputed succession to the throne of Castile, and seems to have viewed

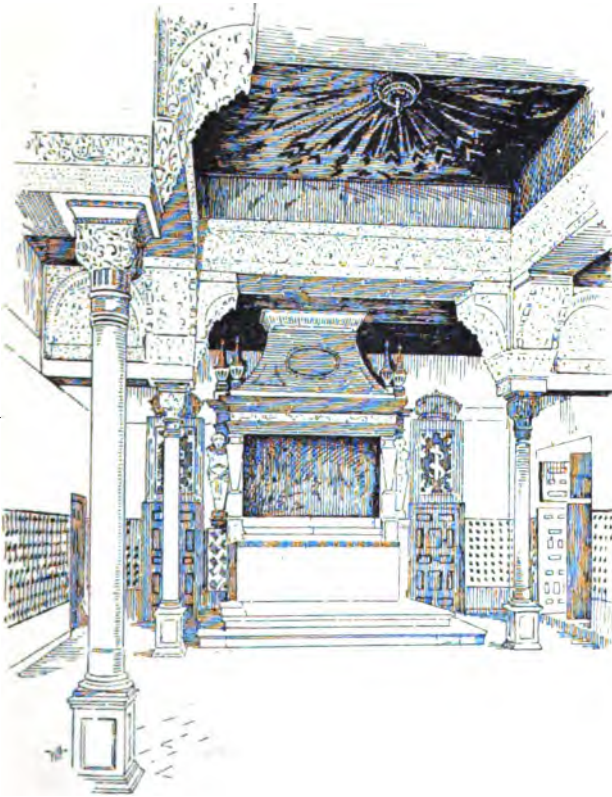
with unconcern the alliance of the rival kingdoms of Spain in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabel. The veriest amateur at kingcraft would have realised that he should have backed the claims of Juana "la Beltraneja," and so averted the union of the two crowns of Castile and Aragon. Abu-l-Hasan condescended in 1476 to sue for a renewal of the alliance with Castile concluded by his father; but when Ferdinand of Aragon, on behalf of his wife, insisted on the payment of the tribute stipulated by Saïd, the heart of the Moor was hardened. "Return to your sovereigns," he said to the ambassadors, "and tell them that the sultans who paid tribute to the Christians are dead; that here we now manufacture not coins but spear-heads for our enemies." Probably Abu-l-Hasan little realised that his words had sealed the doom of the Moors in Spain.

The first acts of hostility were the incursions of the Marquis of Cadiz into the district of Ronda, where he took Villaluenga and other places. Hungry for revenge, Abu-l-Hasan swooped down in a night of storm and rain upon the Castilian fortress of Zahara. He put half the inhabitants to the sword and returned, with the rest as slaves, in triumph to Granada. In the midst of the acclamations that greeted him was heard the voice of a sage exclaiming, "Alas, alas for Granada! the hour of her desolation is near. Already

the downfall of the empire of the Prophet in Spain is at hand ! ”

Intoxicated with victory, Abu-l-Hasan confidently awaited the bursting of the storm. The fiery chivalry of Andalusia did not keep him long in suspense. Two months after the capture of Zahara, the fortress of Alhama—a place so strong that St. Ferdinand had left it unattacked—was stormed and taken from the Moors by the Marquis of Cadiz with a force of 7000 men. The news produced the utmost dismay in Granada, staggering for the moment Abu-l-Hasan himself. But his indomitable nature reasserted itself, and hastily collecting a force of 53,000 men, he marched to the recapture of the stronghold. He wasted his men by throwing them repeatedly against the impregnable walls, and at last settled down to reduce the garrison by hunger and thirst. But meanwhile the Marquis's appeal for help re-echoed like a trumpet-call through Spain. Among the first to respond to it was his hereditary foe, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, forgetting ancient animosities, hurried with 45,000 men to his relief. The Moorish king reluctantly raised the siege, and re-entered his capital amid the execrations of his subjects. A second attack had no better result than the first. Seventy Moors only succeeded in penetrating into the fortress, where they were immediately cut down.

Abu-l-Hasan returned to Granada, to learn that nothing less than the complete subjugation of his

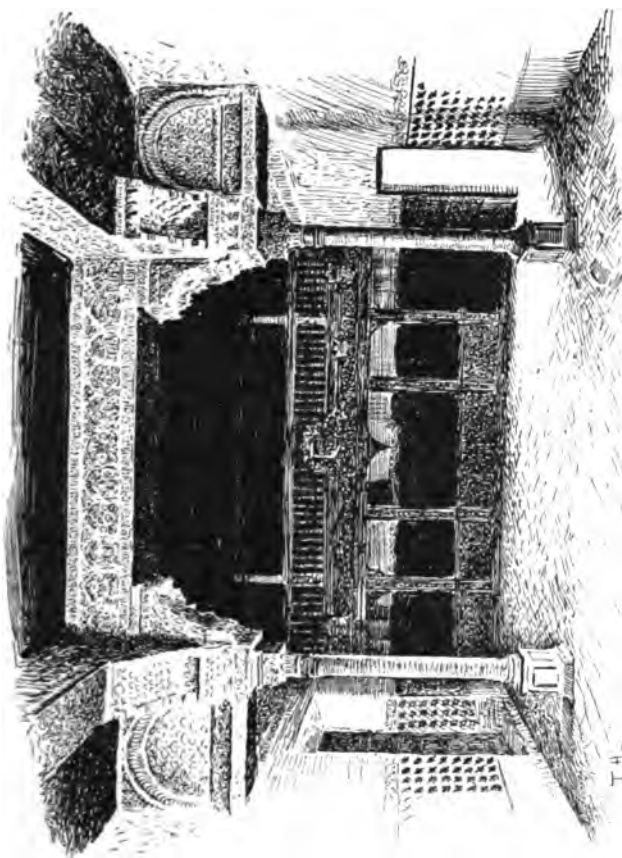


Interior of the Alhambra Chapel

realm had been resolved by the Catholic sovereigns, who made their triumphal entry into Alhama on

May 14, 1482. The principal mosques were seized, purified, and solemnly consecrated as Christian churches. Everything showed the determination of the Spanish sovereigns to retain possession of their conquests.

While Ferdinand was making extensive preparations at Cordova for the renewal of the campaign, his antagonist was hurled from the throne by one of those domestic revolutions to which Mohammedan dynasties seem peculiarly subject. Years before, a beautiful Christian captive, Doña Isabel de Solis, daughter of the governor of Martos, had been added to the sultan's harem. By the Moors she was called Zoraya, a word said to mean the Morning Star. Between this favourite, for whom Abu-l-Hasan manifested idolatrous affection, and the principal sultana, Ayesha, there raged a deadly feud. A recent historian, Mr. Ulick Burke, states that Abu Abdullah, better known as Boabdil the Unfortunate, was the son of Zoraya, and that the two were embittered by the old sultan's transferring his favours to a Greek slave. The more generally accepted version is that the prince was the son of Abu-l-Hasan by Ayesha, and that it was jealousy of the renegade Christian that led him to conspire against his father. Whatever may have been the relationship of the parties, it is certain that Boabdil escaped from the prison in which he had



Interior of the Alhambra Chapel

been confined—the Tower of Comares, it is said—and with the assistance of the ever-rebellious Beni Serraj, compelled his father to abandon to him both citadel and city. After a brave but futile attempt



Relief (Jupiter and Leda) in the Alhambra Chapel

to recapture the Alhambra, Abu-l-Hasan retired to Malaga, where, as in many other parts of the crumbling kingdom, his authority continued to be recognised.

Hoping to profit by the divisions among his adversaries, Ferdinand in July 1482 advanced from Cordova to the assault of the important town of Loja. The place was ably defended by one of the ablest of the Moorish captains, Ali Atar, whose daughter was the favourite of Boabdil. The Christians were repulsed, leaving the Master of Calatrava and hundreds of dead on the field. The King of Aragon escaped with difficulty, and Alhama all but fell into the hands of its original occupants. This reverse was followed, a few months later, by another not less serious. An

expedition against Malaga, headed by the Marquis of Cadiz and the Master of Santiago, while threading its way through the passes of the Ajarquia (Esh-Shark), was attacked by the lieutenants of the old lion, Abu-l-Hasan, and cut to pieces. Eight hundred Spaniards, including four hundred persons of rank, were slain, and fifteen hundred prisoners were marched into Malaga.

Emulous of the glory his father had acquired, Boabdil (reckoned as Mohammed X.) marched out of Granada with 9700 men, and laid siege to Lucena. The approach of the Count of Cabra with a superior force compelled him to retire. He was overtaken near Iznajar, his bravest general, Ali Atar, slain, and his army totally defeated. Boabdil, who fought with



Bas-relief, found in the Alhambra

desperate courage, was taken prisoner by a private soldier, named Martin Hurtado.

The astute Ferdinand at once realised that the disappearance of Boabdil would be a distinct gain to

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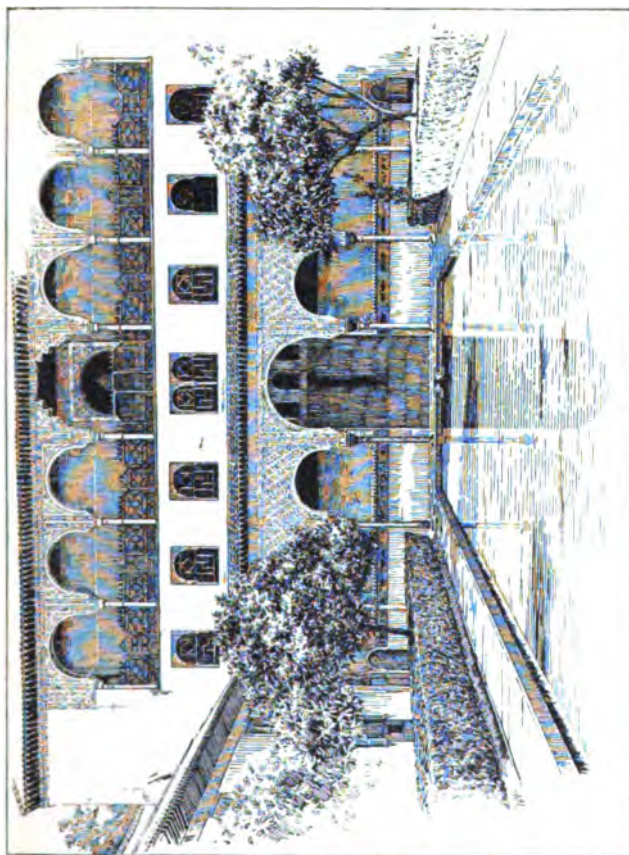
the Moors, and would have the effect of reuniting them once more under one sceptre. He saw that the young sultan would serve his own purposes better on the throne than in the dungeon. The conditions of his release were, notwithstanding, of the most onerous



Court of the Fishpond and Tower of Comares

and humiliating description. The Moorish king declared himself a vassal of Castile, and bound himself, not only to pay for five years a tribute of twelve thousand golden ducats, but to assist with supplies the Spanish troops passing through his dominions to attack his own father. In return a two years' truce



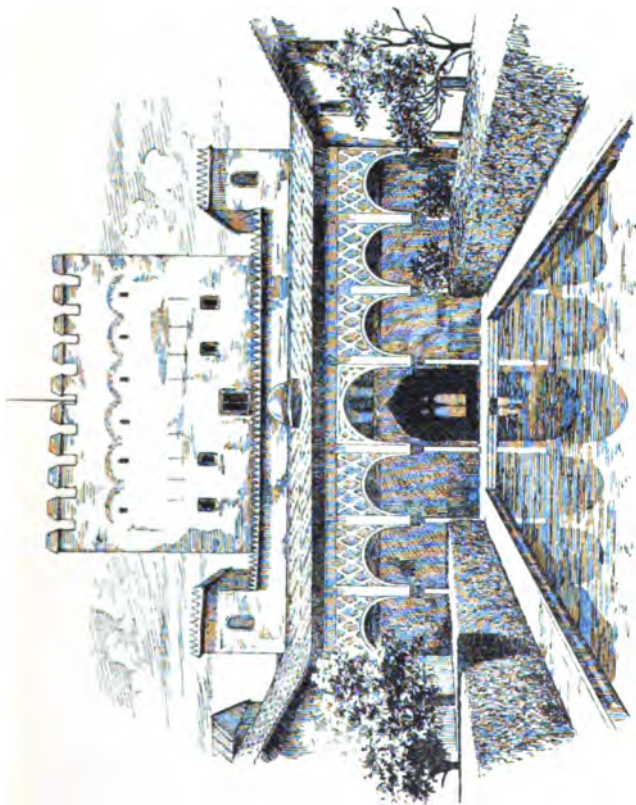


Court of the Fishpond. Eastern Façade

was granted to those places that acknowledged his authority. Having thus secured his liberty at the price of his honour, he returned to Granada to find that Abu-l-Hasan had possessed himself of the Alhambra. A collision between the two factions deluged the streets of the capital with blood. The ancients and alfakis at length intervened, and Boabdil was suffered to retire to Almeria.

For the next four years, Ferdinand and Isabel contented themselves with systematically ravaging the wretched country, and reducing the smaller towns and villages. Abu-l-Hasan's attempts to carry the war into his enemy's country was repulsed with loss. Meantime a strong man appeared on the scene in the person of the old sultan's brother, Abdullah Az-Zaghal, who might fairly be styled the Last of the Moors. Realising that no effective resistance could be offered to the enemy by a kingdom divided against itself, this prince swooped down on Almeria, and slew the governor, but failed, alas ! to secure Boabdil, who, warned in time, fled to Cordova. There he threw himself upon the mercy of the Catholic sovereigns.

Az-Zaghal returned to Granada, and was soon after proclaimed as Mohammed XI. in the room of Abu-l-Hasan, who, worn out and aged, retired to Mondujar. The Christians took the important fortresses of Ronda



Court of the Fishpond and Tower of Comares

and Gaucin, while Boabdil negotiated with his uncle from his asylum at Cordova. His father's death strengthened his claims to the tottering throne, and a compact was entered into, whereby he was to occupy the Albaicin, while Mohammed XI. reigned in the Alhambra. Wishful to redeem his reputation by some signal feat of arms, Boabdil, forgetful of his engagements, attacked the Spaniards near Loja with vastly inferior forces. He was soundly beaten after a valiant resistance, and shut up with the remnants of his army in the citadel. Thence he was permitted to emerge only upon solemnly renewing the disgraceful treaty of Cordova.

This reverse—which his bravery did not merit—exasperated his uncle and his subjects generally against the ill-starred son of Abu-l-Hasan. Az-Zaghal made repeated and determined efforts to rid himself of his rival by means of poison or the dagger. But Boabdil was not, as we have seen, wanting in courage, and rallying his still numerous partisans, returned suddenly to his capital. Az-Zaghal descended from the Alhambra and desperate fighting took place between the two factions, Boabdil being assisted by Christian auxiliaries. Ferdinand, whose policy it was to keep both sultans fully occupied with each other, patched up a truce between them before one could destroy the other, and in the interval attacked and

took Velez Malaga. Four months later, in August 1487, Malaga was invested and taken after a heroic



Gallery in Court of the Fishpond

defence. The entire population of both sexes was sold into slavery, presents of the most beautiful

damsels being made by the Catholic Sovereigns to the various courts of Europe. The Jews and renegades found among the prisoners were doomed to the flames kindled by the recently established Inquisition, and the town was repopled by Christian settlers.

At this desperate juncture, the brave Az-Zaghal finally abandoned the capital to his nephew, and hurried to Almeria, where he organised the defence of the eastern provinces. He held the invaders at bay during the course of the year 1488, but in the following year he was unable to avert the fall of Baza, which capitulated on honourable conditions. The old warrior's spirit was at last broken. Bowing, as he expressed it, to the will of Allah, he surrendered all the places in his possession, including Guadix and Almeria, to the conquerors. He received in exchange the domain of Andaraz in the heart of the kingdom, a property which he soon abandoned, to die, years afterwards, in poverty and obscurity in Algeria.

Of the once vast and powerful empire of the Mohammedans in Europe there now remained but the single city of Granada, of which Mohammed X. was at last undisputed sovereign. He determined to sell his hard-won crown as dearly as possible. He sallied from his capital, took Alhendin and Marchena by assault, and laid waste the country held by the Christians. In vain the Catholic Sovereigns sum-



THE SURRENDER OF GRANADA BY BOABDIL TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, JANUARY 2, 1492

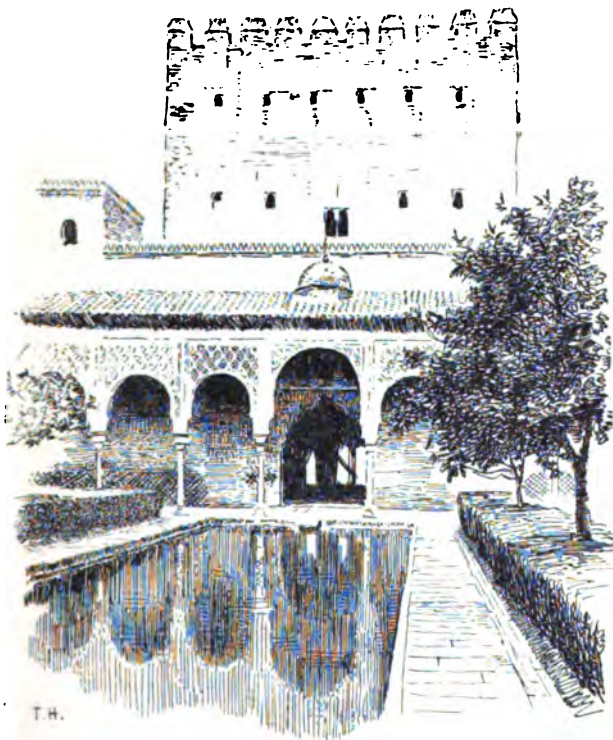
moned him to surrender the city, in compliance with an alleged treaty. He replied, and probably with truth, that his proud and defiant subjects would not permit him to do so. The population of Granada was now swollen by the influx of refugees to three times its normal figure. Ferdinand perceived that in a blockade lay the surest means of reducing the city. With an army of 20,000, men, including the flower of European chivalry, he entered the now desolate Vega, and built the town of Santa Fé, almost at the gates of Granada. The Spanish fleet scoured the narrow seas, and cut off all hope of succour from Africa. In the spring of 1491, Queen Isabel in person pitched her camp only six miles from the walls. The city endured the horrors of famine. But the people clamoured to be led against the enemy. Boabdil and his counsellors alone realised the utter futility of further resistance. Repeated councils were held, but the bravest and sagest could see no ray of hope. The negotiations for the capitulation had to be entered upon in secret through fear of the people. The terms



Gallery in the Court of the
Fishpond

conceded by the conquerors, which they probably had no intention of observing, were generous in the extreme. Not only were the lives and property of the Moors to be respected, but they were guaranteed absolute freedom of worship and were to be subject to their own laws and tribunals. Disputes between Muslims and Christians were to be adjusted by a mixed court, the Moors were to pay to their new rulers exactly the same tribute they had hitherto paid to the sovereigns of their own race. A private treaty reserved to Boabdil and certain members of his family their private domains outside and within the city. The surrender of Granada was to take place sixty days after the signature of the treaty. But the publication of these terms, liberal though they were, excited such discontent among his subjects that the unfortunate sultan besought Ferdinand to anticipate the date named, and to cut short the agony by taking possession of his conquest at once. On the morning of January 2, 1492, the curtain was rung down on the protracted tragedy. Attended by his family and fifty cavaliers, the last sultan of Granada left the palace wherein he was born, rode out through the Puerta de los Siete Suelos, and crossing the Genil, found Ferdinand, with a brilliant train, awaiting him near the little mosque, now known as the Ermita de San Sebastian. There are conflicting

accounts of this fateful interview. According to the Moorish annalists, the fallen monarch was received



Court of the Fishpond and Tower of Comares

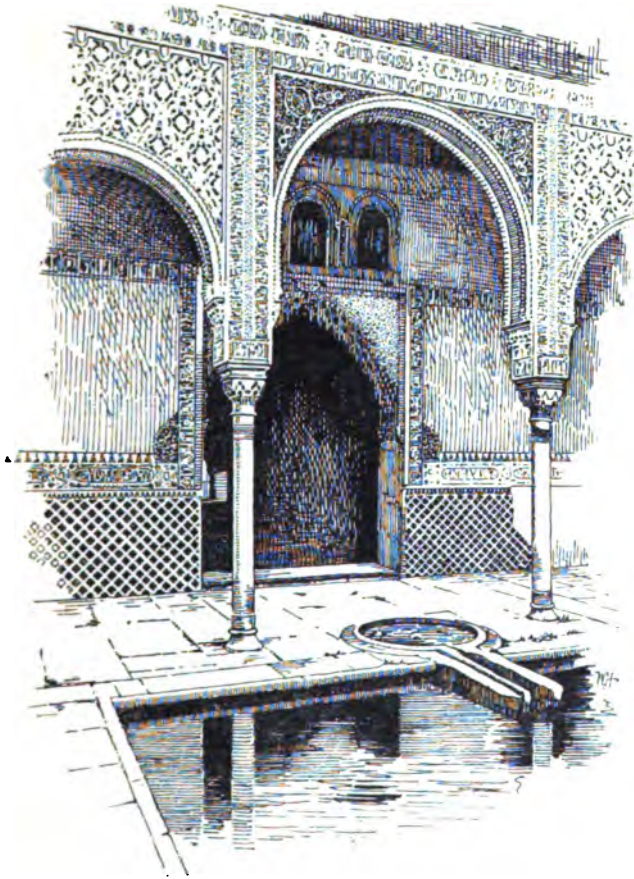
with scarcely-veiled contempt, while Spanish writers represent the King of Aragon's behaviour as that of a model Christian knight. We may be sure at all

events that Boabdil did not prolong the audience, but passed on as quickly as possible to the village of Armilla, where he presented himself to Isabel and the Infante Juan. Thence he proceeded to his retreat



Balcony in the Hall of Ambassadors

in the rocky Alpujarras. The story of his emotion on beholding Granada for the last time from a height near Padul, and of the rebuke administered to him by his mother, is well known. We are not told whether his eye caught the gleam of the great silver cross which had been planted by Cardinal Mendoza



Entrance to the Hall of Ambassadors

on the Torre de la Vela as a signal to the Spanish army that the dominion of Islam was at an end.

It had endured seven hundred and eighty years—a period only sixty years shorter than that which has elapsed since the Norman Conquest of England to our own day. More remarkable still, the sultanate of Granada had survived the break-up of that empire by two and a half centuries. While the reconquest, inch by inch, of their fatherland through so many centuries reflects undying glory on the tenacity of the people of Spain, no one can withhold their admiration from the princes of the Nasrid dynasty, who in face of such tremendous odds, kept the banner of Islam flying, when, humanly speaking, all hope had long, long since fled. All that valour and statecraft could do, they had done. To use a military comparison, the Moors of Granada went down with flags flying and every gun firing. Even the last sovereign of the race of Al Ahmar, for all his hesitancy and pestilent ambition, showed fight almost to the finish, and proved himself not unworthy as a warrior of the tribe from which he sprung. To credit him alone with the downfall of his country is to misread history. He had at least as good a right to the throne as his uncle, Az-Zaghal, who, there is no reason to suppose, in view of his surrender at Baza, would have made a longer or more successful resistance. As to his

making terms with the Christians and consenting to hold the kingdom as their vassal, Al Ahmar himself had done the same and prolonged the Moslem dominion by so doing. To reproach the last sultan



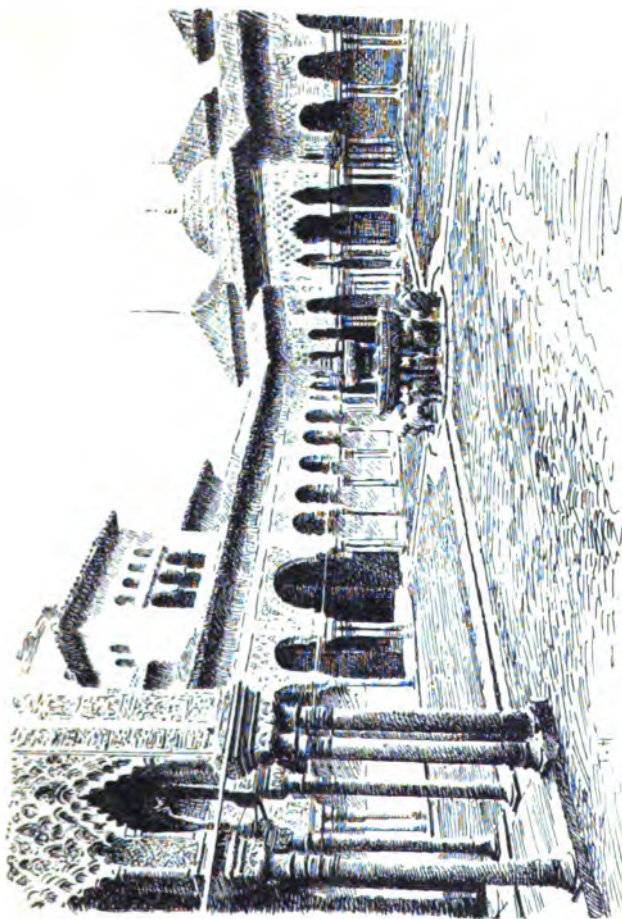
Window in the Hall of Ambassadors

of Granada for the extinction of his country by an irresistible foe is as fair as it would be to attribute to Harold the overthrow of the Saxon state or to Palæologus the downfall of the Byzantine empire.

The government of Granada, after the reconquest, was entrusted to Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, a

humane and honourable man, who soon endeared himself to the Moors under his control. He laboured in sympathy and harmony with the newly-appointed Archbishop Fernando de Talavera, who hoped to convert the unbelievers by example and kindness. For seven years these two high-minded men were left to pursue their own methods. The Catholic Sovereigns were meanwhile occupied with projects of conquest in the New World, and with the expulsion and persecution of their Jewish subjects. The celebrated Cisneros, or Ximenes, as most English historians term him, at last turned his attention to that nest of infidels, Granada, and practically superseded Talavera in the management of his own diocese.

The vigorous prelate's proselytising zeal soon resulted in an outbreak among the Moors, which was quelled by the personal intervention of Talavera and Mendoza. But the policy of Ximenes was dear to the hearts of his master and mistress, and he soon returned to Granada with full powers. He began his crusade by a wholesale destruction of books in the Arabic language. Thousands of rare and beautiful manuscripts perished in the flames. Not yet authorised to burn the Moors themselves, the cardinal resorted to bribery, cajolery, and intimidation. So numerous were the "conversions" that the rite of baptism had to be administered with mops and

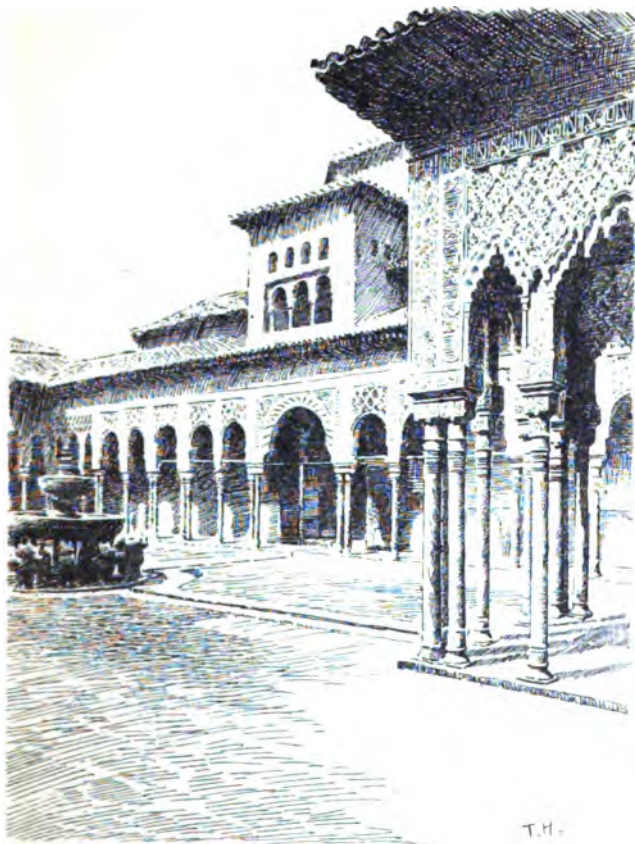


Court of the Lions

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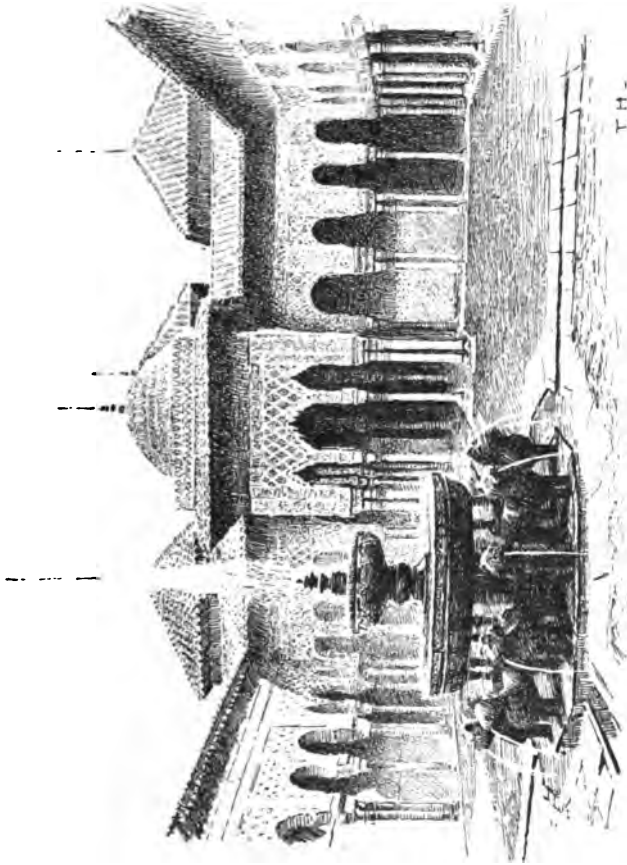
buckets. Argument was less effective a means of conversion. A prominent Moor, referred to as Al Zegri, was invited to a controversy, but it was deemed prudent to cut short the discussion by throwing him into prison. This kind of logic seems to have convinced the hard-hearted infidel, who emerged from confinement a professed Christian. His abjuration, it was said, was due to a visit the Almighty had paid him in his prison. Al Zegri, at his baptism, ungratefully preferred to the names of his benefactor, Cardinal Ximenes, those of his brave opponent in the field, Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova.

It had become now abundantly clear that the Catholic Sovereigns had no intention of keeping faith with their Moorish subjects. A revolt broke out early in 1500, not in the city, which had been thoroughly cowed, but in the Alpujarras. It was quelled, not without difficulty, by the Great Captain. The male inhabitants of the towns captured were put to the sword, and the women and children sold as slaves. A mosque filled with these non-combatants was blown up by the Conde de Lerin. Yet the terms of peace granted by Ferdinand were not unduly harsh. A renewal of the rising, the next year, proved equally abortive, though it was marked by the destruction near Ronda of a Spanish force under Don Alfonso de Aguilar—the rout of the Rio Verde, famous in song



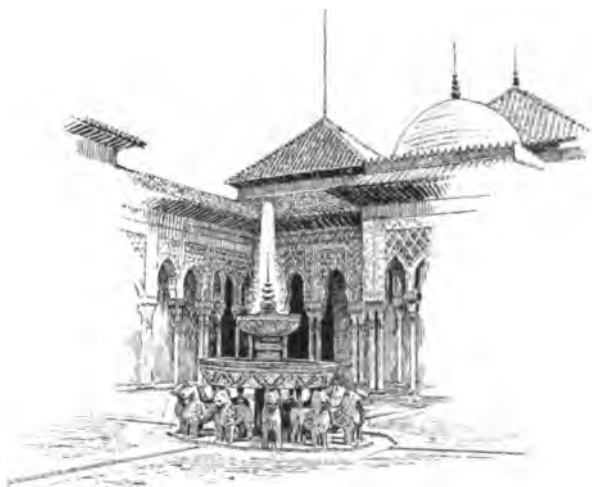
Court of the Lions and Entrance to Hall of The Two Sisters

and story. With the approbation of Ximenes, and in defiance of the most sacred treaty rights, the abominable Inquisition, blasphemously styled the Holy Office, was established in Granada. The wretched Moors sent an embassy to the Khalifa at Cairo, to lay before him a statement of their grievances and to solicit his intervention. The Mameluke sovereign was not deaf to these appeals. He addressed a protest to the Pope against this shameless disregard of the treaty made with his unhappy co-religionists, pointing by way of comparison to the toleration accorded to the Christians in his own dominions. Needless to say, this protest was ineffectual. It is a long way from Egypt to Granada, and moral arguments did not carry much weight with Ferdinand of Aragon. A preliminary decree, dated July 20, 1501, proclaimed the exercise of the Mohammedan religion illegal throughout Spain, the penalty being death; a few months later, the whole Moslem population was ordered to quit the country within two months; and as it was found that the exiles sought refuge in Turkey and Africa, on September 17, 1502, this order was annulled by another, decreeing that no one of any race or religion should quit the country, unless by special permission of the sovereign, for the space of two years. But even the general outward acquiescence of the Moriscos (as they were now called) with



Court of the Lions

the Christian religion, which followed these savage decrees, did not satisfy the conquerors. Doubts continued to exist in the minds of the Inquisitors as to the sincerity of the conversions obtained under the threat of death. It was known that thousands of so-called Christians abhorred the Cross and wor-



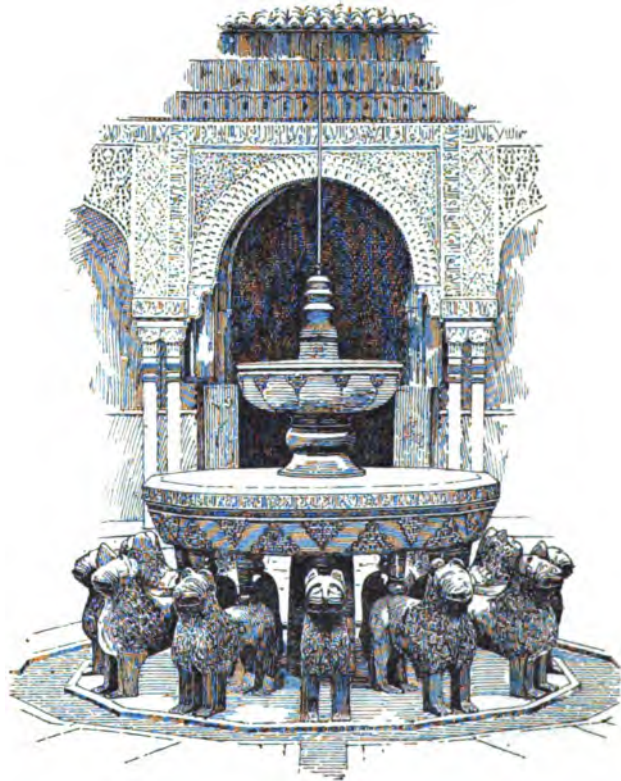
The Fountain in the Court of the Lions

shipped Allah in secret. Pedraza tells us that a dying Morisco, when warned by the priest to prepare for confession, communion, and extreme unction, exclaimed, "How? must I be tortured three times the same day?" In desperation, the oppressed race again rose in the fastnesses of the Alpujarras in the



Court of the Lions

year 1570, and all the skill of Don John of Austria was required to overcome their obstinate resistance.



The Fountain of Lions

Mohammedan or Christian, no Moor was to be tolerated in Spain ; and it is almost with relief that

we read of the final expulsion from the Peninsula in 1609, of all persons of Moorish blood. Spain suffered a blow with the loss of her most industrious artisans from which she has been slow to recover ; but a persecution of a ferocity almost unknown in modern times, had at length exhausted and defeated itself.

The history of Christian Granada presents few features of interest. Sovereigns paid visits to the city of varying duration and with greater or less ceremony and display. Columbus was here in the year 1500, and stood before his ungrateful employers to answer the baseless charges to which they stooped to listen. Gonsalvo de Cordova, Spain's greatest soldier, like the Discoverer a victim of royal ingratitude, spent his declining years here, and died within the city in 1515. Granada's story onwards is one of decay. Commerce and industry languished, the population diminished, the Inquisition alone was active. Between 1606 and 1640, 211 persons underwent various sentences by the dreaded tribunal, six being burned at the stake, and five publicly flogged. The city suffered severely at the hands of the French in 1810. Scores of patriots who ventured to protest against the occupation were mercilessly shot down, and the churches, convents, and palaces were remorselessly plundered. The French again appeared in Granada in 1820-22, on which occasion the Alhambra



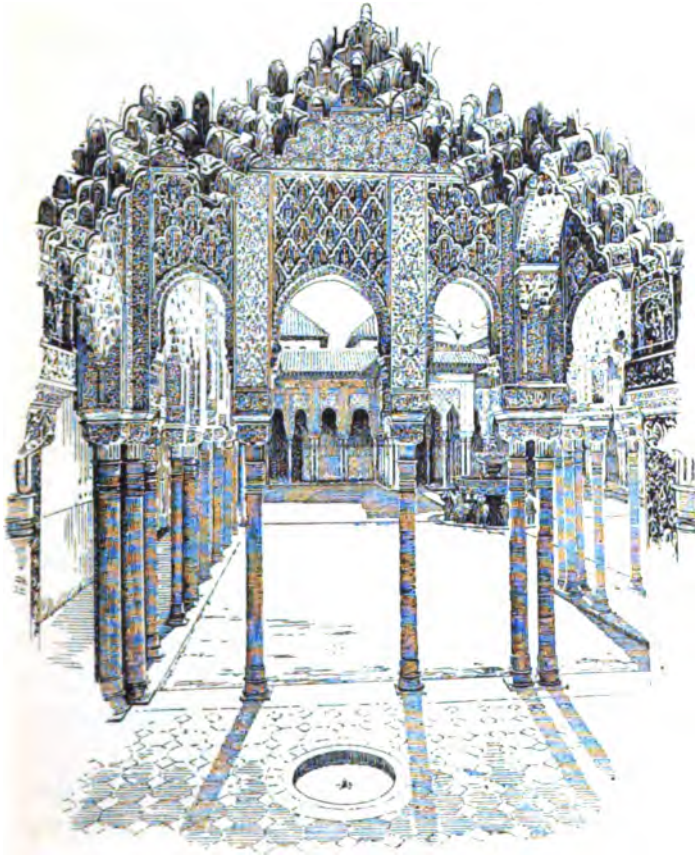
East Portico in the Court of the Lions

would have been blown up, but for the presence of mind of a Spanish pensioner who disconnected the fuse. Of the bloodshed and disorder which distinguished Spanish history during the middle decades of the last century, the city had her full share. And in the young and talented Mariana Pineda, she produced a martyr whose name should be honoured by lovers of liberty, not only in her native country, but all the world over. Happily she died not in vain; and the glories of Constitutional Spain may even yet eclipse the more lurid triumphs of the Despotism.

CHAPTER II

THE ALHAMBRA

THE Alhambra is to Granada what the Acropolis is to Athens. Towards it the stranger at once turns his steps, knowing that it embodies almost all that is memorable in the city's past. Here the real genius of the place resides, not in the town which has during four centuries deviated ever from its noblest traditions in a futile attempt to overtake the modern world. And this aloofness of city and citadel is expressed in their situation. For, driving through ugly bare streets on your way from the station, once you have passed under the fifteenth-century gateway called the Puerta de las Granadas, you seem to enter a new city, a new world. Gone is the fierce glare of the merciless sun, gone the stare of white houses, and the parching aridity of the southern town; instead you enter a deep, cool valley, where tall over-arching trees make a grateful shade, where the leaves and bushes are as green as in English groves, where running water is ever heard, and the ground beneath your feet is moist and springy. How this pleasant

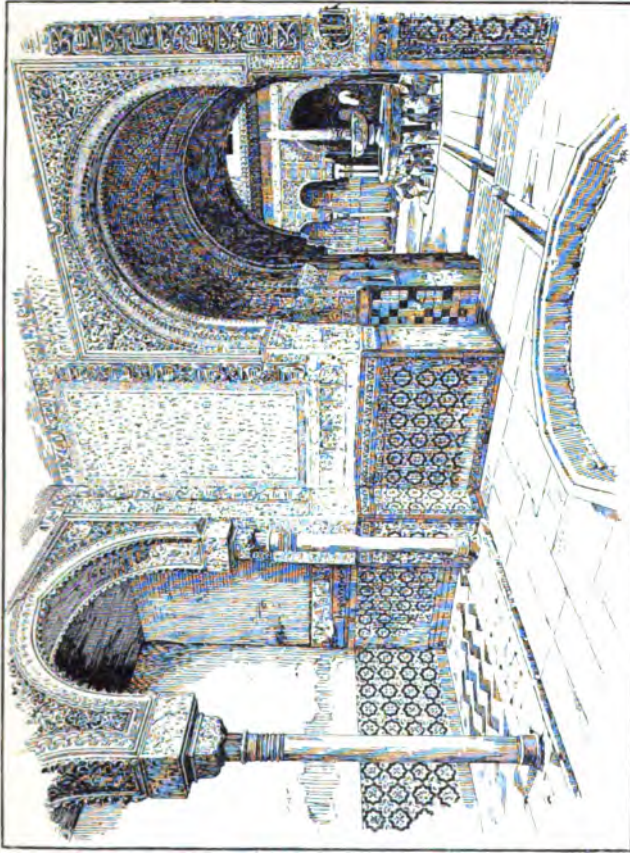


Court of the Lions from the Gallery

oasis in the burning south reminds us of a very different country! and well it may do so, since these elin-trees first struck their roots in English soil, and were the gift of our Iron Duke in the year 1812. Mingled with them are cherry-trees, now as tall or even taller. If you come in spring you will hear the nightingales pouring forth their melody among the branches; but in summer even the birds are silent, and you hear little else than the splash of the water and the footfall of an occasional loungee.

This valley cleaves that spur which the Sierra Nevada thrusts forward against the south-east side of Granada, between the rivers Darro and Genil. The eminence to the south of the valley is crowned by the Torres Bermejas or Vermilion Towers; on the north side rises the hill of the Alhambra, and beyond that, separated by another depression, is the Generalife. From the Puerta de las Granadas three avenues diverge: that in the centre leads to the Washington Irving Hotel and beyond it to the gate of the Generalife, while the other two lead respectively to the Vermilion Towers and the Alhambra.

The former should be visited first if possible, since they are the oldest buildings in Granada. Not that the visit is to be remembered as among a traveller's most delightful experiences. Taking the path to the right on passing through the Granada gate, you soon



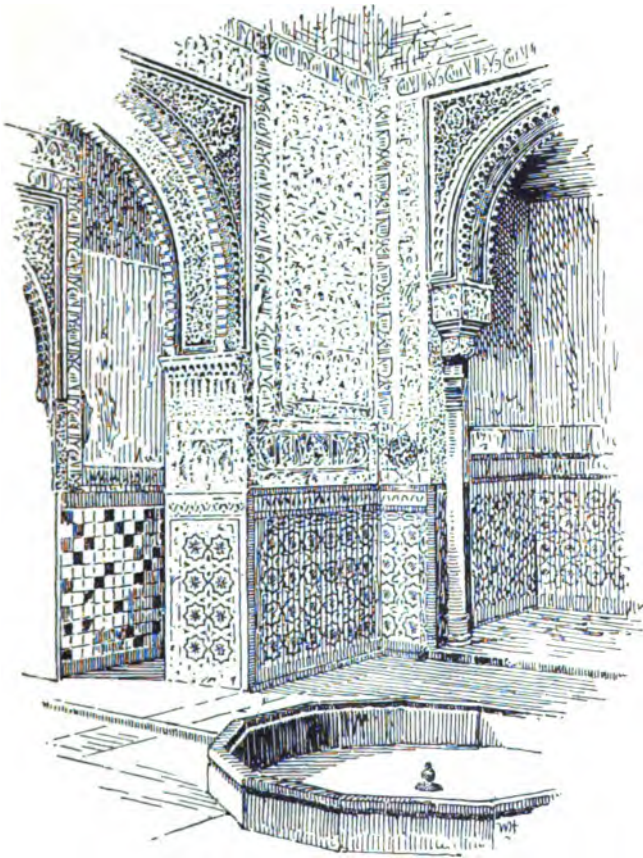
Hall of the Abencerrages and Court of the Lions

find yourself in a filthy little open space at the foot of the solid, uncompromising Towers. Ragged children, slatternly women, and rascally-looking men stare at you, and simulate amusement at your civilised appearance. You will not be easily tempted to enter the Towers, which serve the purpose, I believe, of a military prison. There is indeed nothing interesting about them except their antiquity—and that is considerable. The Vermilion Towers have been identified, in fact, with the Red Castle, besieged, as I have already said, in the ninth century by the revolting native Muslims; but they might just as easily be the remains of a fortress erected by Habus, the successor of Zawi Ibn Zeyri, in 1020. The writers on Granada have very little to say about these ancient buildings. The only definite conclusion at which we can arrive is that they date at latest from the epoch of the first dynasty of Grenadine sultans, and are older, in all probability, than any other structures in the city or its neighbourhood. Don Francisco de P. Valladar, the learned chronicler of the province, to whose researches I hasten to confess myself most deeply indebted, says that the Towers were in a defensible condition down to the seventeenth century, though most of the arms and armour found in them at the reconquest had been removed to equip the second expedition of Columbus to America. But the

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PLAN OF THE ALHAMBRA PALACE

To face p. 96.

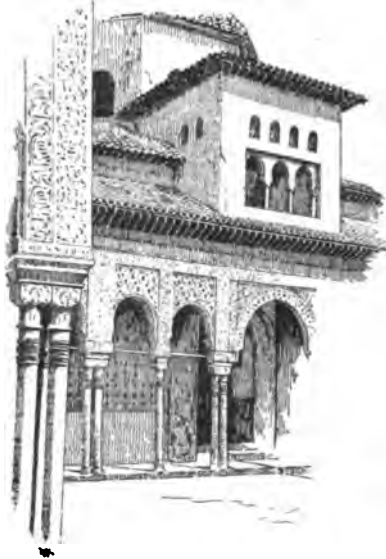


Hall of the Abencerrages

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spot is not a pleasant one to linger in, and it need detain us no longer.

The Alhambra hill, aptly compared by Ford in shape to a grand piano, is about 2690 feet long by



Court of the Lions and Entrance to the Hall of the Two Sisters

730 feet broad. It is completely encircled by walls, which closely follow its outline, and is the site not of one palace, as many travellers seem to expect, but of three—the Moorish Palace, the Emperor's Palace, and the Alcazaba. Around these buildings is grouped what may be considered a fair-sized village, wherein

if you wish to live at the very doors of the palaces, you may obtain comfortable quarters.

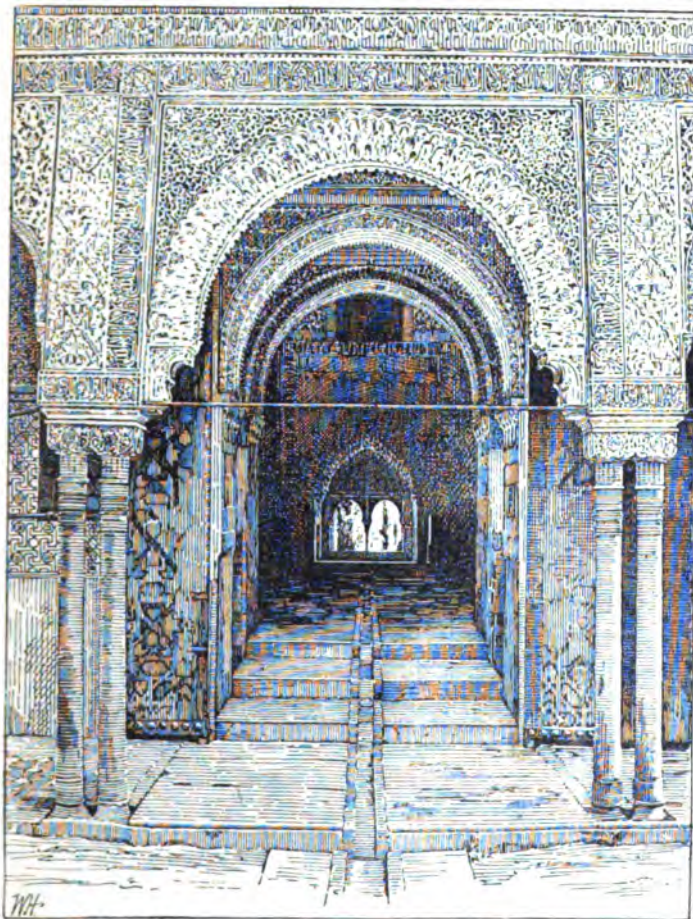
The chronological order should be followed wherever possible when visiting a city's monuments. Once arrived, therefore, at the Alhambra, restrain your



Alcove in the Hall of Justice

curiosity, shut your eyes when passing the Flemish Cæsar's folly, and visit first the Alcazaba or citadel—to your left on entering by the Gate of Justice. This ruinous but yet massive pile occupies the western extremity of the hill, and is separated from the body of the place by a high, frowning wall. Was this, and

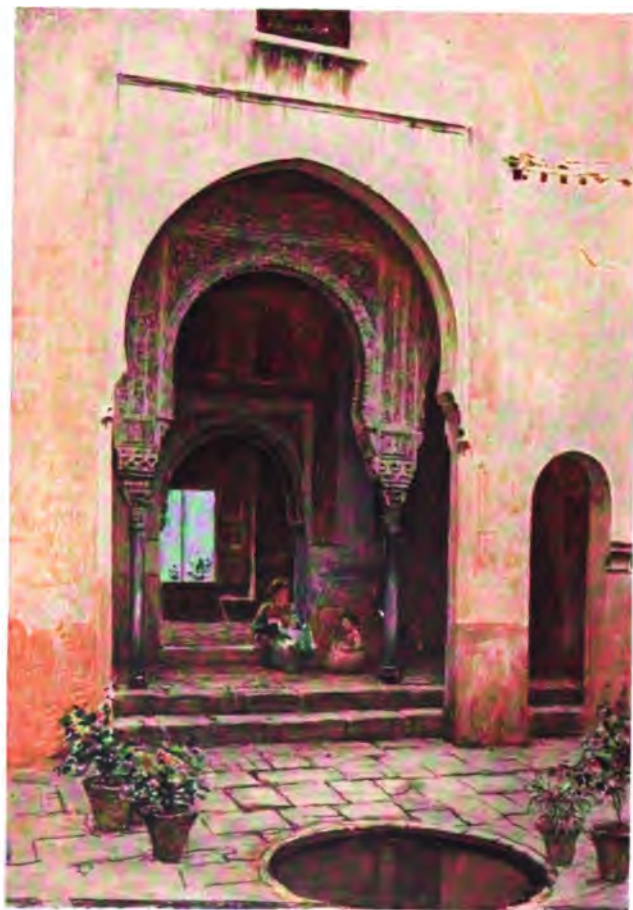
not the Vermilion Towers, the Red Castle before alluded to? If it was, there can be no doubt that it was extensively restored, possibly entirely rebuilt by the sovereigns of the first dynasty. It was one of the Kasbas referred to in the history of Badis and Habus. Surrounded by thick walls crowning the crest of the declivity and flanked by stout square towers, this would even now prove no mean fortress if put into a state of repair. The three most noticeable towers are the Torres del Homenage, de las Armas, and de la Vela. The first, which looks towards the Moorish Palace, is highly picturesque, but, like much else that is picturesque, in ruinous condition. The Torre de las Armas is better preserved. It looks down on the River Darro, which was at this point spanned by a bridge, the Kantara Al Kadi. Thence a road or path led up to the beautiful horse-shoe arch in the tower, now called the Puerta del Bosque, which was then the principal entrance to the fortress. We turn towards the Torre de la Vela, the old Watch Tower. It is inhabited, like nearly all the towers, but the public have the right of entry, and you may climb up the awkward flights of stairs to the very platform where (as an inscription relates) the silver cross was planted by the magnificent Cardinal Mendoza on the memorable morning of January 2, 1492. You will not fail to notice the famous bell (cast in 1773)



Entrance to the Hall of the Two Sisters

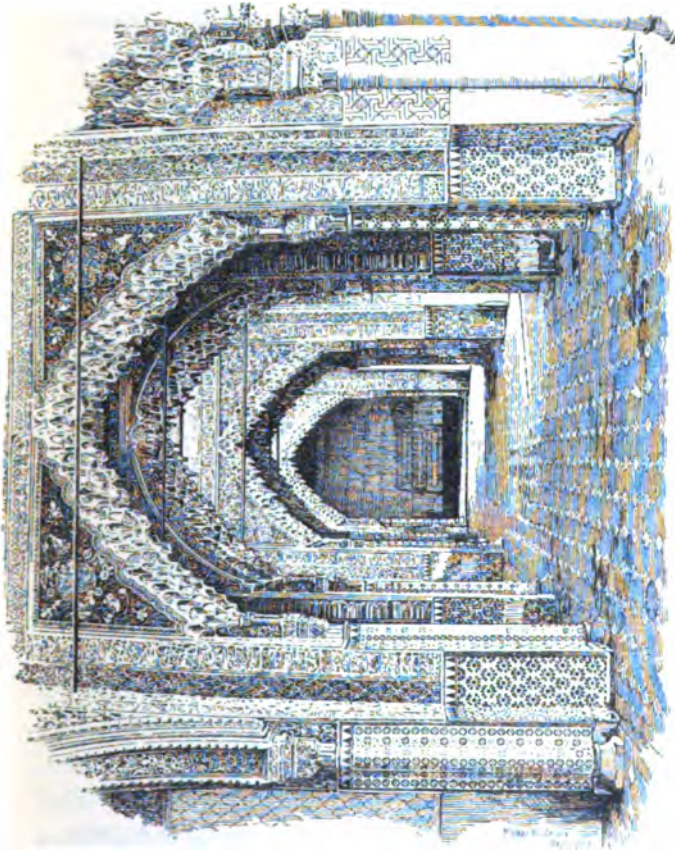
which on the anniversary of the reconquest is struck with all their strength by damsels desirous of obtaining husbands. The bell can be heard, it is said, at Loja, thirty miles away. The view from this platform is very fine, though not as extensive as that from the belvedere of the Generalife. In summer the prospect is a study in dazzling white and gold. The eye rests lovingly on the white streaks on the Sierra, only suggestion of coolness anywhere in view. Below, Granada spreads itself and basks in the hot rays. It is the city of the sun, and seeks not to screen itself from his favours by foliage and plantations such as those which embower Italian cities.

This Moslem fortress could accommodate a garrison of 1500 men, and in this tower were lodged, we are told, the sultan's cavalry—though it seems strange quarters for mounted troops. At one time or another a fortified wall connected the Alcazaba with the Torres Bermejas, the Puerta de las Granadas marking the site of the old town gate called the Bib el Loshah. Recent researches have proved that the Alcazaba was isolated from the palace by a ravine, where, after the reconquest, cisterns were formed by the Count of Tendilla, and over which the existing Plaza de los Algibes was constructed. On the palace side of this ravine ran a wall from the Torre de los Gallinas on the north to the Puerta del Vino on the south—



The Alhambra.

Court of the Mosque,
West Facade.



Hall of Justice and Entrance to Court of the Lions

probably part of an inner wall which enclosed the residence of the court. The Puerta del Vino possibly was the entrance to the gardens. It is a beautiful gateway, completely detached from the other works,



"Wa la Ghálib ila Alá!"—There is no conqueror but God. The famous motto in Kufic characters, of Mohammed I. and his successors, which is inscribed on the walls of the Alhambra in countless repetition.

which you find on your right coming up from the Gate of Justice and before you reach the Conservator's House. Over the graceful horse-shoe arch—so characteristic of Moorish architecture—is an inscription in stucco, invoking the blessings of Heaven upon the Sultan Mohammed V. There appears to be some allusion to a striking victory—possibly to the taking of Algeciras from the Castilians in 1370. On the key-stone is seen the key so often figuring as a symbol in all parts of the Alhambra, and of which we shall have more to say later on ; on the wards is inscribed a G in Kufic characters, being perhaps the initial letter of the city. The upper storey of the arch is

pierced by pretty windows of two lights, known in Spain as ajimezes, which also look down on the open space between the inner and outer arches. Here there is some exceedingly beautiful decoration, of the geometrical character with which we shall soon be familiarised.

The Puerta del Vino may serve as our introduction to the buildings which were founded by the second or Nasrid dynasty. That the palace called by foreigners simply the Alhambra and by Spanish writers the Alcazar to distinguish it from the Alcazaba, was erected by Mohammed I. (Al Ahmar) about the middle of the thirteenth century, there is no reason to doubt. Earlier allusions to the Red Palace refer to the citadel we have just visited, or possibly to



Part of Picture in the Hall of Justice representing a Christian Knight rescuing a maiden from a wicked Magician or Wild-man-o'-th'-Woods. The Christian Knight is in turn slain by a Moorish Warrior.

some pre-existing structure on the site of the present one. On the walls of the palace is constantly repeated the founder's device, "There is no conqueror but God," the words uttered by him in mournful de-

precation of the acclamations of his subjects on his return from assisting St. Ferdinand in the reduction of Seville. During the two and a half centuries of the Nasrid rule, the place underwent many radical transformations and renovations, and it is by no means easy to distinguish the work of the different sultans. It is evident from the inscriptions that



The Death of the Lion at the Hands of a Christian Knight. Part of Picture in the Hall of Justice

Yusuf I. and Mohammed V. had the largest share in the restoration and decoration of the edifice. In their day it was no doubt more than twice the size it is now. Probably an entire wing was removed to make room for the palace of Charles V., and the Harem—generally the most extensive part of a Muslim residence—is wanting. It may have extended as far as the Torre de los Picos. Except on the side towards the Darro, the outer shell of the building has gone, but fortunately enough has been left to enable us

to realise the splendid state in which dwelt the last Moorish sultans of Spain.

Very big books have been written about the Alhambra and bigger still on Moorish architecture generally. The palace belongs to the last period of Spanish-Arabic art, when the seed of Mohammedan ideas and culture had long since taken deep root in



Moorish Huntsman Slaying the Wild Boar. Part of Picture in the Hall of Justice

the soil and produced a style which might more truthfully be called Andalusian than Moorish. If the Muslims left a deep impression upon Spanish art, it must not be supposed that they altogether escaped the influence of their Christian neighbours. Mohammedan culture became acclimatised. As the centuries rolled by it differentiated ever more and more from its primitive models, from the styles of Syria and Egypt. The Alhambra, though it remains the finest secular monument with which Islam has endowed

Europe, is wanting in the simplicity, the strength, and the dignity of earlier Moorish works—such as the Giralda. During the last two centuries of their occupation, the Mohammedans in Spain had lost



Painting in the Hall of Justice

much of their fanaticism and austerity. They were not precisely decadent, but as a nation they had expended the fire and enthusiasm of youth and were reconciled to their middle age. When too critical, also, of the Alhambra, we must not forget that it was primarily intended for a palace, for a place of pleasure and repose, and that its builders sought necessarily to delight rather than to impress. It is probable that the wave of the Renaissance did not leave the shrunken Moorish empire absolutely untouched, and if Castilian kings hesitated not to employ Muslim artisans in the construction of their churches, neither did the Sultans of Granada disdain the advice of Christian artists in the embellishment of their palaces. The Alhambra remains unquestionably a Moham-

medan monument, but one which symbolises a phase of Mohammedan culture and institutions almost peculiar to one country and epoch. This was a Muslim state isolated from the rest of the Islamic world, assimilating in spite of itself something of the spirit of the alien civilisation that encompassed it. Nowhere else, except in India, has Islam reached such a pitch of refinement and elegance. To-day it remains the monument of a people and a culture long dead and gone.

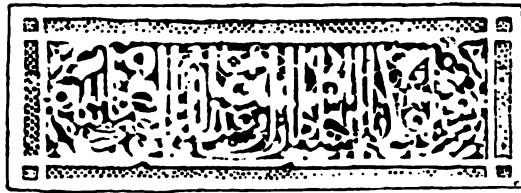
The residences of the kings of Christendom during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were strongholds rather than palaces. Power and strength impressed our mediæval ancestors far more than grace and luxury. Military considerations had an important



The Moor's Return from Hunting. Part of Picture in the Hall of Justice

bearing on architecture, even ecclesiastical, while religion had little to say in the arrangement of a man's abode. With the Muslim it has always been otherwise. The Oriental mind delights in display,

and eastern potentates have never been able to resist a tendency to ostentation. Magnificence, therefore, not power, was the essential element in the architecture of a Moorish court. The secluding of women and the injunctions of the Koran as to ablution necessitated the construction of special apartments unknown to the Christians. The Castilian contemporary of Al Ahmar was content to dwell in chambers gloomy,

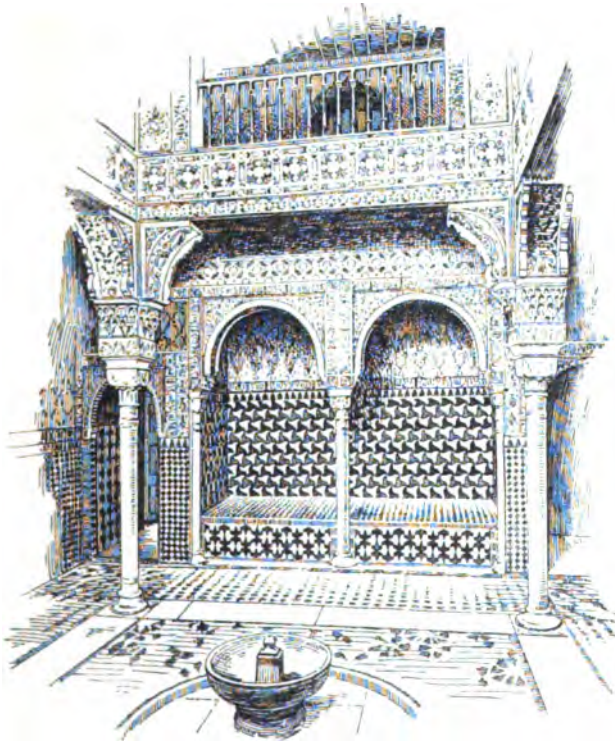


Inscription in the Court of the Lions

ill-lighted, and ill-ventilated. The Moor loved the sun, the murmur of the breeze, and the ripple of water. Here we have a few of the considerations which influenced the Moorish architect, and resulted in such wide differences between the Christian and Mohammedan styles of dwelling-house.

If we cannot trace much order in the distribution of the halls and chambers of the Alhambra, method is conspicuous in the scheme of decoration. As is well known, all Moorish ornamentation is based on a strictly geometrical plan, and every design may be

resolved into a symmetrical arrangement of lines and curves at regular distances. The intersection of lines



The Chamber of Repose—Baths of the Alhambra

at various angles is the secret of the system. All these lines flow from a parent stem, and no figure or ornament may be introduced at random. The origin

of this style of decoration may be looked for, in the opinion of a modern authority (M. Saladin, "Manuel d'Art Musulman"), in late examples of classic work such as numerous Roman mosaics, and also in an attempt to imitate the tent dwellings of the primitive Arabs. The materials of which these habitations were composed were generally made of pieces sewn together and shaped after a more or less regular fashion. The designs were learnt by heart, and never committed to paper, doubtless in order to preserve the "mystery" of the decorator's craft. A certain number having been committed to memory, it was comparatively easy to combine and modify them. For fresh ideas on the subject of ornament, the Muslim architect seems to have always looked to the weaver of shawls and carpets. He could not, if he were a rigid observer of the Law, look to nature for his inspiration; though the Koran does not absolutely forbid the delineation of natural objects, a circumstance of which the latitudinarian sultans of Granada, as we shall see, took advantage.

A love of simplicity and the elementary is also conspicuous in the colouring of the decorative work. On the stucco only the primary colours were used: blue, red, and yellow. The secondary colours occur only in the dados of mosaic or tile-work. The green ground-work of much of the ornamentation as it is

to-day was formerly blue, time having changed the tint of the metallic pigment employed. The white parts have assumed in the course of ages the tint of old ivory, and the colours blend harmoniously now, even if they did not do so when fresh. The decoration seems to have been planned with strict regard to the colour each surface was to receive.

It is not easy for the visitor unaccustomed to



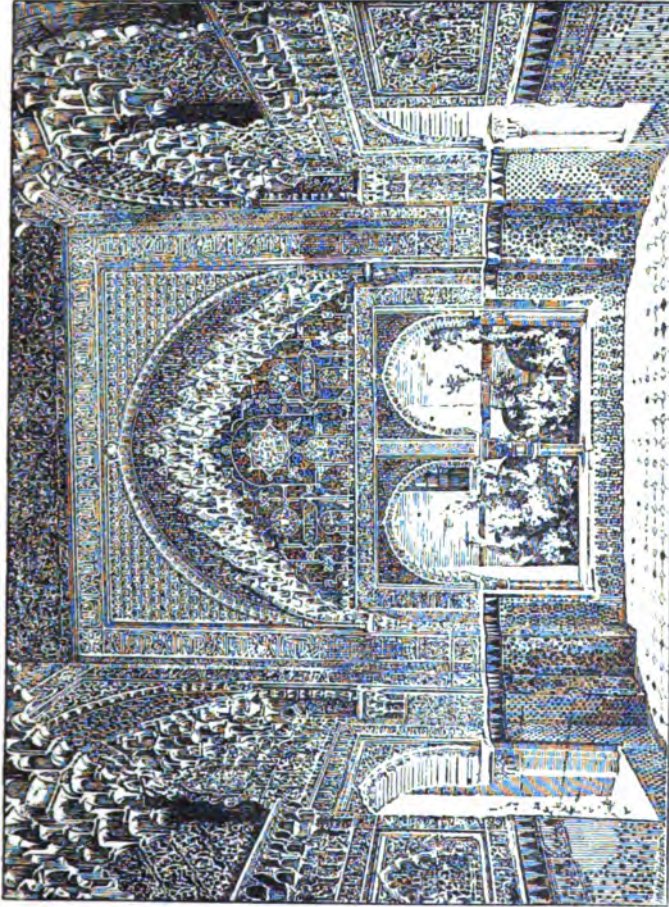
Sultan's Bath constructed by Yusuf I.

Oriental buildings to form a just appreciation of this beautiful palace. He will find much to condemn in its architecture, and may find the repetition of the same designs monotonous and distressing. The beauty of the ornamentation consists in its exquisite symmetry, and this only becomes apparent on close examination. Even seeming irregularities disappear on a more careful scrutiny. Mr. Lomas points out that "the exact relation between the irregular widths of cloistering on the long and short sides of the court

H

[of the Lions] is that of the squares upon the sides of a right-angled triangle." This, of course, is not the kind of art easily understood or appreciated by those accustomed to European canons of taste, but such exquisite proportioning will at least explain the raptures of certain students of Mohammedan architecture.

There are no obstacles to a close study of the building. On your first visit you are shown round by a guide, to whom you give a *pourboire* according to your means or inclination. Once having paid your footing you can repeat your visit as often as you like, and roam unmolested and unattended through the palace. Residents at the neighbouring pensions pass much of their time here, reading, sewing, and, shame be it said ! smoking, while the youngsters are allowed to sail their boats in the Fishpond. It is much to be regretted that more careful supervision is not exercised over visitors. The cigar-ends and matches which strew the floors suggest a very real danger to the fabric. In many places names are scribbled or even carved on the walls. The guides are intelligent and courteous, but wanting in activity and firmness. The generosity of the Government in throwing the place open without fee to the public all the year round is, I venture to suggest, misapplied. Few visitors would object to paying an entrance fee of four or

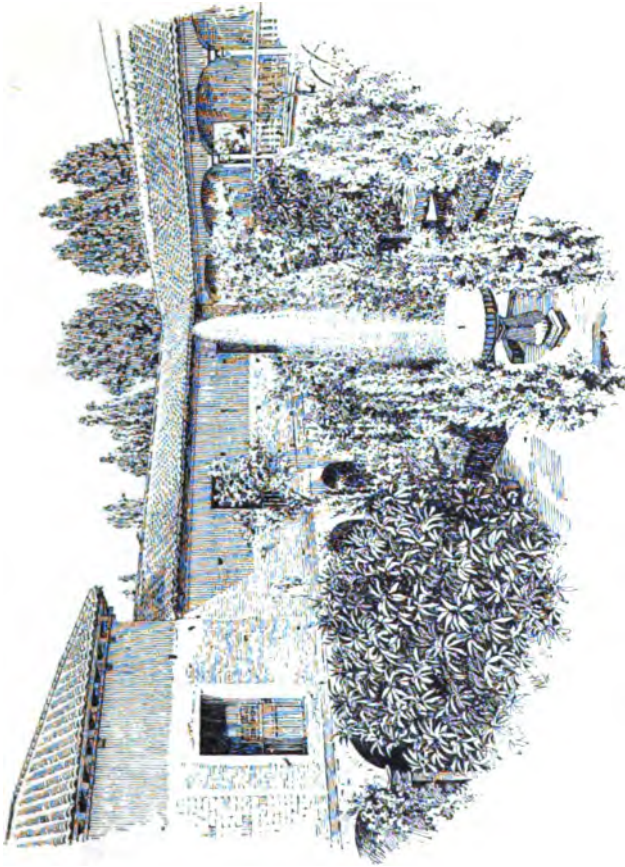


Balcony of Lindaraja

five francs, and the sum thus collected could be devoted to the better upkeep of this venerable pile.

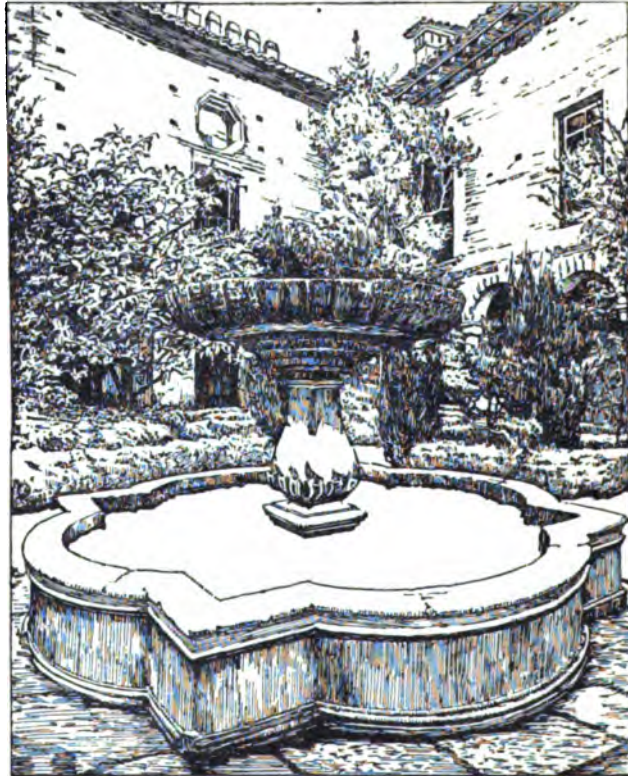
It is only thanks to the dry pure climate of southern Spain that the palace has escaped absolute ruin. From time to time since its acquisition by the Christians steps have been taken to put it in repair, but at the end of the eighteenth century it was in a deplorable state. During the French invasion several towers were blown up, and as I have elsewhere said, the whole palace only escaped demolition by the presence of mind of an old soldier. Washington Irving found the palace become practically private property, and apparently in sole charge of an old lady and her domestic circle. At last in the year 1870, the Alcazar of the Alhambra was declared a national monument, and since then a certain sum—insufficient, I am told—has been set apart by the State for its maintenance. Extensive and on the whole skilful restorations were carried out by the late Conservator, Don Rafael Contreras, who devoted thirty-seven years of his life to the work. In September 1890, a fire destroyed the vestibule and the Sala de la Barca. For want of funds the damage done has not yet been made good. Unfortunately, unless new regulations are enforced, there is every reason to fear a recurrence of such a catastrophe at no distant date.

You might live on the Alhambra hill for some days



Garden of Daraxa or "Lindaraja"

without being aware of the existence of the palace.
It is hidden away behind the unfinished fabric of



The Garden of Daraxa or "Lindaraja"

Charles V., and entered through an insignificant
modern doorway which gives no promise of the

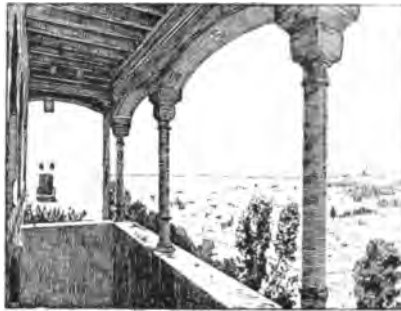
beauties within. The guides first conduct visitors to the Court of the Fishpond (Patio de la Alberca). When, however, he has taken a preliminary glance at the whole building he will do better to begin a more systematic survey at the old entrance used by the Moors themselves. In following our description, it must not be forgotten that the apartments are arranged practically in two storeys—the chapel, the Patio de la Mezquita, the Baths, and the Garden of Daraxa being on the lower.

THE PATIO DE LA MEZQUITA AND ADJACENT APARTMENTS

The court, misnamed the Patio de la Mezquita (entered by a few steps at the north-west side of the Court of the Fishpond), with the surrounding chambers, represent the oldest part of the palace, and exhibit a much more marked simplicity of architecture and decoration than the parts yet to be visited. The chambers lying to the south of this patio (that is, towards the emperor's palace) are undergoing extensive reconstruction and excavation. Here is to be found the ancient entrance to the palace, a square doorway with well-carved lintel, and the inscription : " O Place of the High Kingdom and Asylum of Prodigious Aspect ! Thou hast achieved a great victory,

and the merits of the work and of the artificer [are] the glory of the Imam Mohammed. The Shadow of the Most High be upon all ! ” This text is believed to refer to Mohammed III. (1302-1309).

This door opened upon the Mexuar (meshwâr) or council-chamber, where the sultan administered justice and convened his advisers and ministers. This



The Queen's Boudoir and View of the Albalcin

was converted at the reconquest into a chapel, which, however, was not consecrated till the year 1629. At that time the ancient entrance was blocked up, and a fine chimney-piece in the Renaissance style was transformed into an altar. The character of the decorations suggests that at one time it was intended to restore the chamber to secular uses. The terminal figures on each side of the altar seem hardly appropriate to a chapel, nor do the figure of Plenty, and

the relief of Leda and the Swan, now lying unheeded in a corner. The fountain that once occupied the centre of the hall is gone, and little if anything



The Queen's Boudoir and Distant View of the Generalife

remains of the work of the Moorish builders. The glazed tiles (azulejos) bear the device of Charles V. (Plus Oultre), the Imperial Eagle, &c., and like the stucco and carving are all post-Moorish work. At the far end of the room is a gallery with a gilded balustrade,

and below it a wooden openwork partition, behind which is the sultan's oratory (*Mosala al Aïdi*), with the mihrab or Holy Place directed towards the south-east—that is towards Mecca. Here, according to tradition, Yusuf I. was stabbed by a lunatic, though some others have it that the oratory was built by that monarch's son, Mohammed V. The inscriptions on the walls certainly relate to the last named, where they are not precepts from the Koran. The ceiling is modern, and only a portion of the decoration is genuinely Moorish. Opposite the mihrab is a little door communicating with the ruined Tower of Puñales which presents many architectural differences from the rest of the palace, and which may be the beginnings of the Mudejar style seen in other parts of Andalusia. The garden terrace seen from this doorway is called after Machuca, the architect of the emperor's palace. In Moorish times it was probably occupied by annexes of the royal residence.

The Patio de la Mezquita, from which access is obtained to the chapel, is an open quadrangular court, ornamented on two sides. The southern façade, ably restored by Contreras, recalls the gate of the Alcazar at Seville. The beautifully carved eaves are sadly blackened by exposure. We notice the latticed windows, characteristic of Mohammedan domestic architecture, especially the central one,



The Queen's Boudoir and Distant View of the Generalife

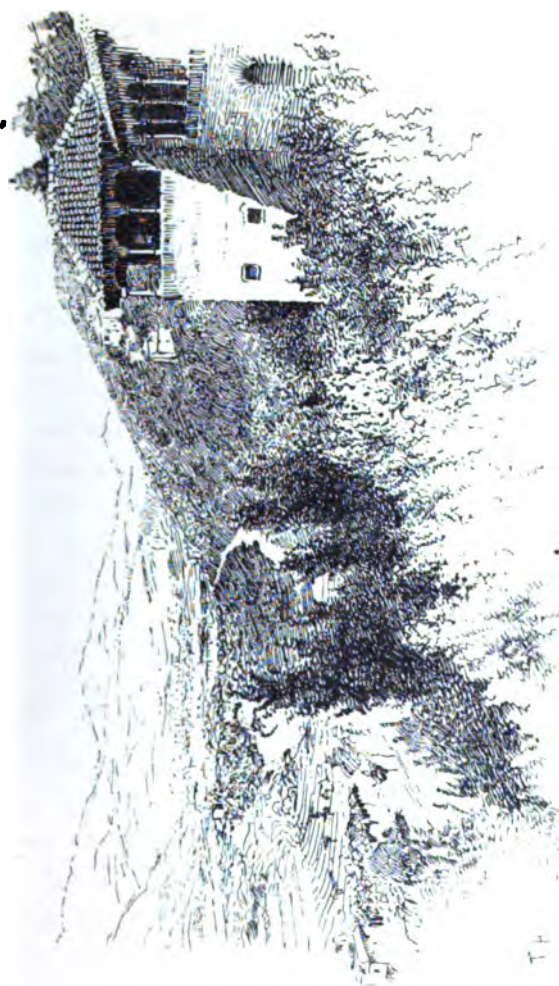
and the inscription on the wooden frieze beneath the eaves commemorating its construction by Mohammed V. The tiled dados and arabesques display the Nasrite motto, "God is the only Conqueror," repeated in all parts of the palace. At the opposite side of the court a portico (roofed in 1522), with curious columns and capitals of black marble, admits you to a chamber believed by some to be the true meshwâr. The ceiling is a fine specimen of Moorish carved work (*artesonado*), but that the decoration of the walls is post-Moorish is indicated by the introduction of *amorini* or Cupids. The walls of this apartment display some ominous cracks, which threaten their very existence.

Retracing our steps across the Patio de la Mezquita, we reach the spacious Court of the Myrtles or of the Fishpond (Patio de los Arrayanes ; or, de la Alberca). This is the court first entered by the visitor through the modern entrance. It is one of the most beautiful parts of the palace, and gives a foretaste of the glories that lie beyond. One feels immediately transported to the East. "The originality of the architecture," says Don Francisco Pi Margall, "the airy galleries, its rich *alhamis* or alcoves, the splendid apartments of which glimpses are obtained through its arches, the fountains and foliage, the reflection of its stuccoed walls in the waters of the pond, the murmur of the



The Alhambra.

Tower of Comares



The Queen's Boudoir

breezes that agitate the dense myrtles, the transparency of the sky, the silence that reigns all about—all oppress the soul at the same time, and leave us for some moments submerged in a sea of sensations which reveal to us little more than the harmony of the whole scene.”

The court is of oblong shape, 120 feet long and 75 feet wide. Along the middle extends the *alberca* or fishpond, filled to the depth of six feet with pale green water, which gushes up into a round basin at either end. The long sides of the tank are bordered by closely-clipped hedges of myrtle. To the north rises the battlemented Tower of Comares, to the south a corner of the emperor's palace appears above the roof. Through one of the entrances may be seen the fountain in the Patio de los Leones. An atmosphere of sensuous calm pervades the place.

Let us look around. The sides of the court were restored sixty odd years ago, and do not merit much attention. The southern façade (that to the right on entering) is very beautiful. It is composed of two arcaded galleries, one above the other, with a smaller closed gallery—a species of triforium—interposed. The arcades are formed by marble columns, with variously adorned capitals; the central arch of the lower gallery rises nearly to the cornice and is decorated after a style which Contreras thought sug-

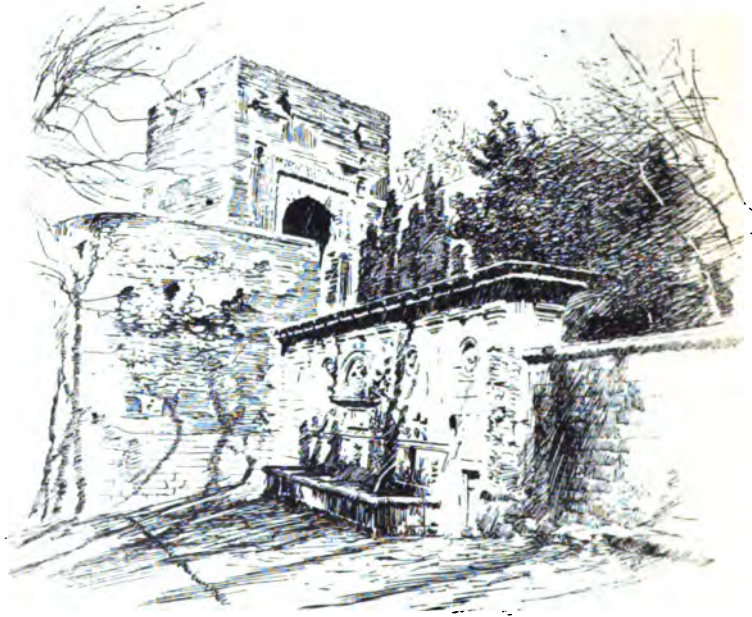
gestive of Indian architecture. The seven windows of the triforium are closed with fine lattice work. Equally graceful is the upper gallery, where one notes



Gate of Justice

with anxiety the central arch showing signs of approaching collapse. From the lower gallery a door affords communication with the emperor's palace. Notice the black capitals resembling those in the Patio de

la Mezquita. The opposite side of the court is bordered by a single arcade, of similar design. Above the central arch is a little dome or cupola, the interior



Gate of Justice and Fountain of Charles V.

of which is painted with little gold stars on a blue ground. At each end of this gallery we find an *alhami* or alcove, where the Moors were accustomed to laze away the day extended on rush carpets and divans. The walls of these little places are adorned,

like the rest of the Court, with tiled dados and reliefs in stucco, while the ceiling is of the stalactite pattern. Traces of blue colouring are to be observed within them. The domestic usages of Islam are suggested



The Gate of Justice

by the little niches or *babucheros*—places for depositing slippers—to be seen in the arches here and in other parts of the palace. Certain authorities, however, are of opinion that these were niches for water vessels.

Here, as everywhere else in the Alhambra, inscriptions gracefully written in the semi-sacred Kufic

I

character, enter largely into the scheme of decoration. They tell us that Mohammed V. built this court—which has been restored four times since the reconquest—while others declare, “Truly Ibn Nasr is the sun, shining in splendour;” “May he continue in the noontide of his glory even unto the period of his decline,” and so forth. Yet another inscription refers to the taking of Algeciras in 1368, and says of the sultan, “Thou givest safety from the wind to the blades of grass, and sittest dreaded even to the stars in the firmament. When the stars quiver, it is because they fear thee, and when the grass of the fields bows low, it is in thanksgiving to thee.”

These inscriptions must have greatly relieved the monotonous and puzzling aspect of the decorations, as they would now, if they could be read by the majority of the frequenters. Yet we imagine the sultans must in time have grown weary of seeing their praises repeated on every wall, and still more weary when the eulogistic inscriptions referred to their predecessors.

It is extremely probable that the southern gallery of this court communicated with an extensive suite of apartments demolished to make room for the palace of Charles V., corresponding, perhaps, in plan to the apartments to the north. These include the Halls of the Barque and of the Ambassadors (Salas

de la Barca and de Embajadores). Into the first-named we pass from the Court of the Fishpond through a beautiful stalactite arch, into the decoration of which floral designs enter to an unusual extent.

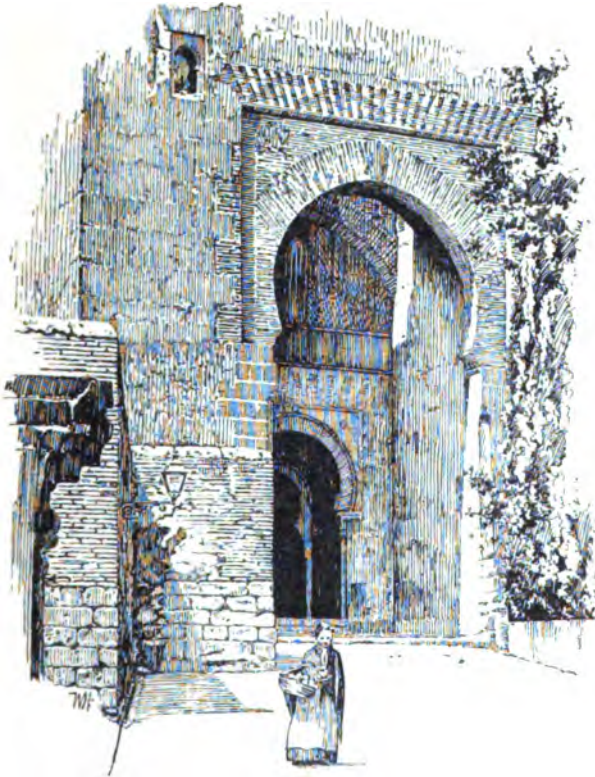


The Gate of Justice

The name de la Barca is supposed to have been given to this long, narrow apartment, from the resemblance of its roof to the hull of a ship. Of the magnificent ceiling, destroyed by fire in 1890, Owen Jones wrote :
“ . . . A waggon-headed dome of wood of the most elaborate patterns, receiving its support from pendentives of mathematical construction so curious that

they may be rendered susceptible of combinations as various as the melodies which may be produced from the seven notes of the musical scale ; attesting the wonderful power and effect obtained by the repetition of the most simple elements." Nothing of this remains now, and the decoration of the walls has been carried out after an obviously conventional European fashion, a few Arabic inscriptions being clumsily introduced. The windows above the entrance, filled with transparent stucco, are worth notice.

Beyond this hall rises the Tower of Comares, with walls of surprising thickness, yet appearing to rest on the slenderest pillars and almost to be balanced in air. The real supports, with questionable taste, have been purposely kept out of sight. The battlements are not those from which the sultans watched the approach of the infidel, but date from recent times. The interior, which is a square of 37 feet by 75 feet up to the centre of the dome, is occupied by the Sala de Embajadores, the reception room of the palace, where the last assembly of Boabdil's councillors was held. It is the largest and, on the whole, the most imposing of the halls of the Alhambra, and was built by Yusuf I. Lifting our eyes we behold the glorious, airy dome of larch-wood, with painted stars and angles. Owen Jones was of opinion that



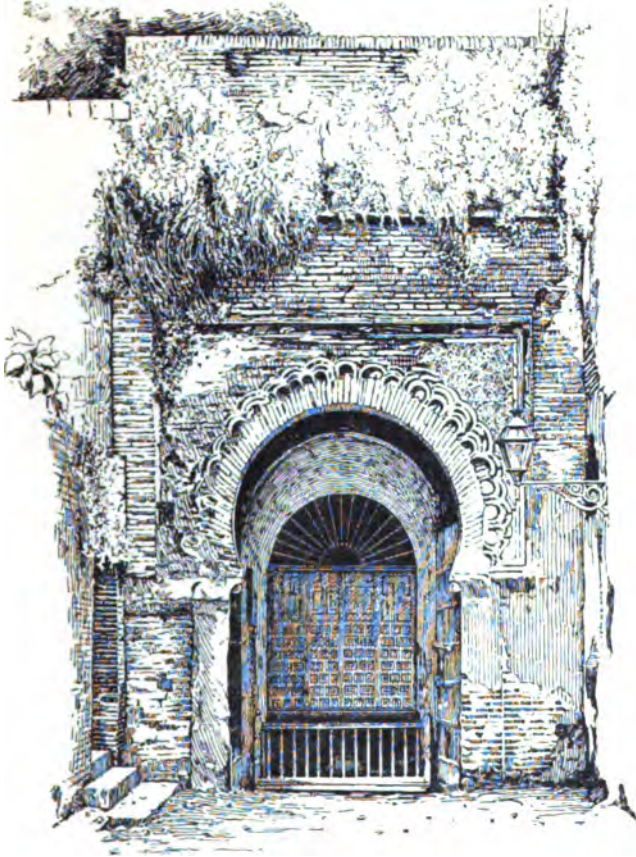
The Gate of Justice

this ceiling replaced an earlier one, which was supported by an arch of brickwork. Opposite the entrance was the sultan's throne, and in the centre of the marble flooring (now of brick) spouted a fountain, the site of which is still marked by stonework. The decoration, in which red and black predominate, is on a magnificent and elaborate scale, though here and there the true Arab note seems wanting. Five "zones" may be distinguished as the eye travels from floor to roof: (1) a dado of azulejos, (2) stucco work in eight separate horizontal bands and of different patterns, (3) a row of five windows on each side, (4) a carved wooden cornice, (5) the "artesonado" roof. Numerous inscriptions in Kufic and African characters are introduced into the decoration, including several verses from the Koran. On three sides of the hall are alcoves, each with a window, from which splendid views are obtained. The central windows on each side are of two lights, and like the windows which light the upper portion of the hall were once filled with stained glass. Some of the windows have been filled up.

Unsuitable for a human habitation as these empty halls may at present seem, they probably presented no very different aspect when in everyday use. A few rich carpets, a divan in an alcove, here and there a tiny table to hold a tray of refreshments, were all

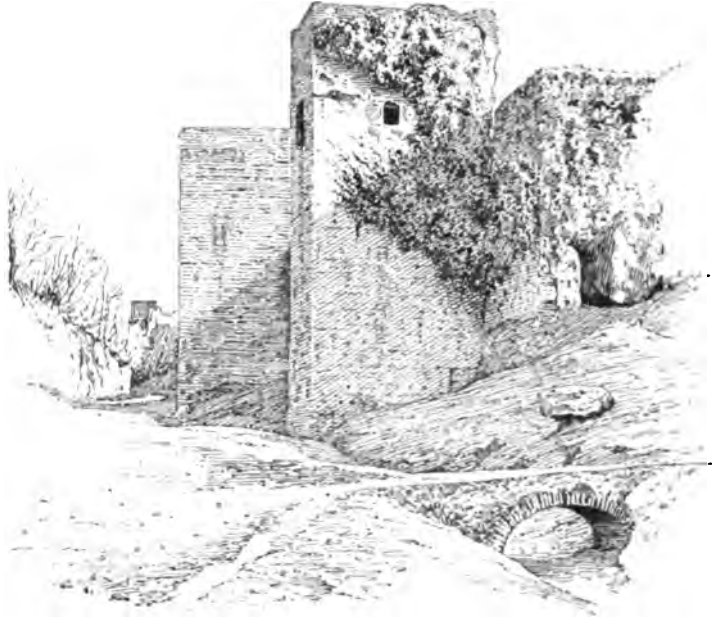


View of the Sierra Nevada and River Genil.



The Gate of Justice (Inner Side)

the furniture that the Moors, with a curious blending of simplicity and luxuriousness, ever needed. It is unlikely, of course, that the Hall of Ambassadors was ever put to other than state uses. When not



The Infanta's Tower

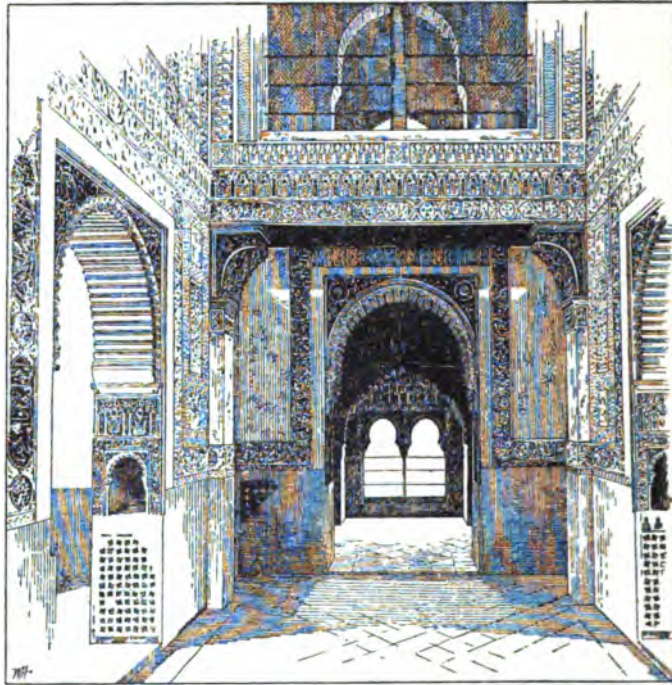
so occupied, we can imagine it filled with slaves and attendants dozing away their days on mats or reclining dog-like on the bare floor, ready, however, to spring up and make the lowest of salaams as some bearded dignitary passed in from the Court of Myrtles.

THE COURT OF THE LIONS AND ADJACENT APARTMENTS

The Patio de los Leones (Court of the Lions) occupies, with the chambers opening on to it, the south-eastern quarter of the palace. "There is no part of the edifice that gives us a more complete idea of its original beauty and magnificence than this," says Washington Irving, "for none has suffered so little from the ravages of time. In the centre stands the fountain famous in song and story. The alabaster basins still shed their diamond drops ; and the twelve lions, which support them, cast forth their crystal streams as in the days of Boabdil. The architecture, like that of all other parts of the palace, is characterised by elegance rather than grandeur ; bespeaking a delicate and graceful taste, and a disposition to indolent enjoyment. When one looks upon the fairy tracery of the peristyles, and the apparently fragile fretwork of the walls, it is difficult to believe that so much has survived the wear and tear of centuries, the shocks of earthquakes, the violence of war, and the quiet, though no less baneful, pilferings of the tasteful traveller : it is almost sufficient to excuse the popular tradition, that the whole is protected by a magic charm."

The Court is an oblong measuring 116 feet by 66 feet. On each of the four sides is an arcade,

formed by 124 marble columns, 11 feet high. These are placed irregularly, sometimes singly, sometimes in pairs—an arrangement which does nothing to mar



Interior of the Torre de las Infantas

the symmetry of the whole. The arches, which are purely ornamental, exhibit a corresponding variety of curve, and spring from capitals decorated with foliage of various patterns. The space above the arches is

decorated with the richest stucco work, which has the appearance of old ivory. The arcades are roofed with tiles—brown, white, green, and blue, and the ceilings are of carved and painted wood. At each end of the Court is a beautiful little pavilion with a “half-



The Captive's and Infanta's Towers

orange” dome or cupola, and a basin in the centre of its marble flooring. The walls of the Court, which on three sides support an upper storey, are decorated after a geometrical design, but want the dado with which they were once adorned. The stucco work in the end galleries is very elaborate.

The Court is now gravelled, and is divided in four by shallow conduits which run from the basins in the arcades to the central fountain. This is composed of two basins (in Moorish times there was but one), supported by the twelve marble lions after which the Court is named. These Muslim sculptures are, remarks Ford, rudely but heraldically carved, and closely resemble those to be seen supporting Norman-Sarracenic tombs in Apulia and Calabria. "Their faces are barbecued, and their manes cut like the scales of a griffin, and their legs like bedposts, while a water-pipe stuck in their mouths does not add to their dignity." Notwithstanding, a tremendously long inscription, versified by Valera, reminds us that nothing need be feared from these creatures, "for life is wanting to enable them to show their fury." This fountain, like all the others in the Alhambra, only plays on certain state occasions.

The upper storey which looks down on the Court on three sides is also roofed with coloured tiles, and adorned with belvederes with ajimez windows projecting in the middle of each side.

It is generally agreed that this Court formed part of the harem or private domain of the sultan and his family. It is unlikely that it communicated, as at present, directly with the public apartments. The entrance was no doubt at the south-west angle between

the Hall of the Abencerrages and the palace of Charles V.

The Court of the Lions is adjoined on each side by a sumptuous apartment. The Sala de los Mocarabes, which is the first entered from the Court of the Fish-



Interior of the Torre de la Cautiva

pond, is a long narrow apartment, devastated by fire in the year 1590. Some part of the original roofing was preserved in the restoration in 1614. The ceiling displays the escutcheon of Spain with the initials F and Y (Ferdinand and Isabel), while inscriptions on the beautiful arcading resound the praises of Mohammed V.

The hall to the right of the Court is named the Sala de los Abencerrages, and is the legendary scene of the execution of thirty-six chiefs of the Beni Serraj by order of Boabdil. The story has not the slenderest historical support, and can only be traced to a writer named Ginés Perez de Hita, who lived in the sixteenth



The "Captive" and "Candle" Towers

century. Others have it that here Aben Osmin (1446) was beheaded by order of the prince, Muley Hasan, though most chroniclers agree that the usurper took refuge in the mountains. The hall is separated from the arcade by a narrow corridor, at either end of which were staircases leading to the apartments above. This narrow chamber stands sadly in need of repair, the colour having almost entirely disappeared from

its decorations. We pass beneath two beautiful arches into the hall itself—one being closed with superb wooden doors, found and restored by Contreras in 1856. The hall is rectangular. In the centre is the basin beside which the chiefs are said to have



Torre de los Picos

been beheaded. To the right and left, beautiful stalactite arches lead to alcoves, where, unfortunately, the stucco decoration has almost entirely disappeared. But the glory of the Sala de los Abencerrages is its roof—its plan like that of a star, with seemingly innumerable pendants, and sixteen elegant closed windows in its ventlings.

“Its thousand stalactites,” writes Don Francisco Pi

Margall, "its colours, its innumerable archings, its crowns of stars, its complicated depressions and projections, its cones, its polygons, its accidents of light, the effects of chiaroscuro, present it at first sight as something confused, indefinable, indecipherable, resplendent, and vague, like that broad band, the Milky Way, which crosses the pavilion of the heavens. Yet in reality it is most regular, although irregular in appearance; the compass of the geometrician had more to do in planning it than the genius of the artist; but its lines are so many, and their combinations change so rapidly, that the scheme is only to be comprehended after a long and patient study."

The stalactite ceiling is one of the most beautiful features of Moorish architecture. Two or three explanations of its origin are forthcoming. Some say that it was designed in remembrance of a cavern in which the Prophet was accustomed to meditate or took refuge. Another legend has it that an architect saw a party of girls aiming snow-balls at the ceiling, and that the formations assumed by the snow as it froze harder or trickled downwards inspired him with the idea since carried out with such beautiful effect. The honeycomb, again, has been named as the source of the inspiration. The stalactite, it seems to us, is, however, merely the natural product of geometrical design; the more skilful artists of that school would

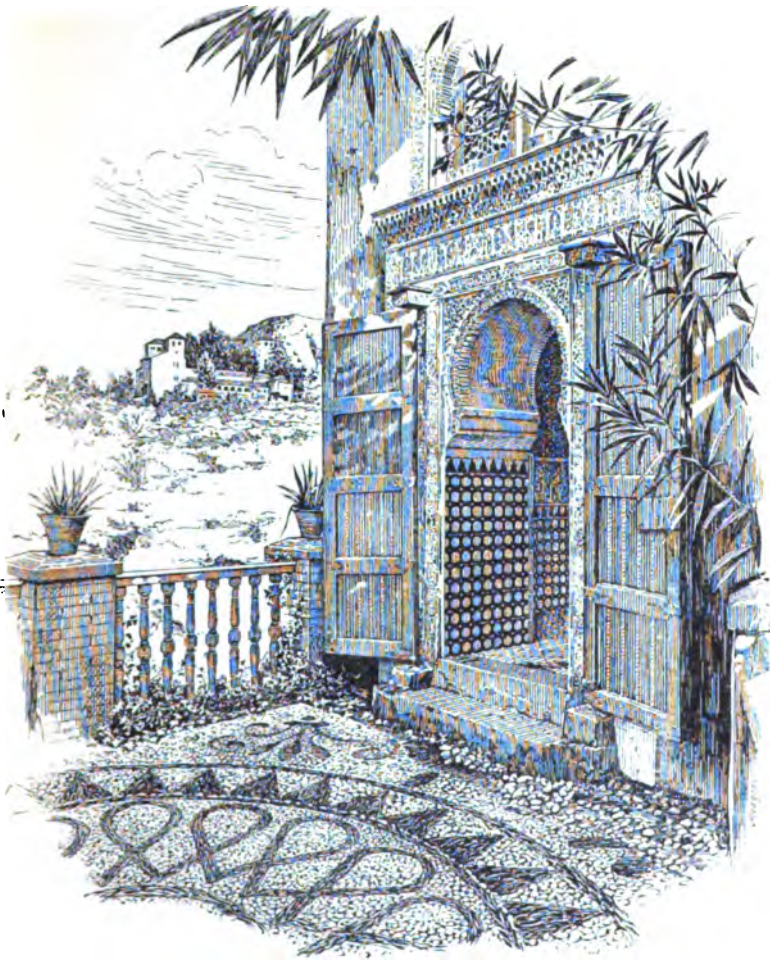


Exterior of the Mihrab

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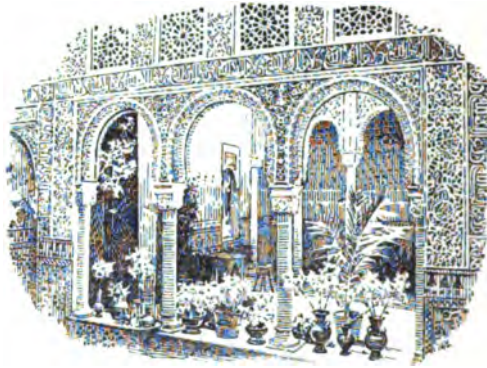
naturally wish to express their fancies not only on the plane but in the cube.

Opposite this hall, on the other side of the Court of the Lions, is a similar apartment called the Sala de las Dos Hermanas, or of the Two Sisters, after two twin slabs of marble let into the pavement. This hall was designed by Aben Sensid, the architect of the Court of the Lions, and is believed to have been inhabited by the sultan himself. An exquisite arch gives admittance from the Court to a lobby or corridor, which communicates on the right with the mirador or latticed balcony over the entrance—all that remains of the upper storey; at the other end of the lobby is the old private entrance to the baths below. The Hall of the Two Sisters is the most richly and elaborately decorated part of the palace, and seems to have suffered less from restoration than the other apartments. To the left and right graceful arches lead to alcoves rather more shut-off than in the other rooms. Above each arch (there is one in each wall) is a window from which those in the upper storey could once look down. The roof, pierced with sixteen windows, is of the same wondrous stalactite character, and exhibits the same marvellous combinations of geometrical forms, the same confused symmetry, the same extraordinary cell-formations, as the Hall of the Abencerrages. Hardly less bewildering and admirable



Side Entrance to the Mihrab and Distant View of the Generalife

is the intricate lace-work of stucco, which covers the surface of the walls above the brilliantly-coloured dado. The inscriptions on the sixteen medallions and cartouches constitute a long poem by Ibn Zamrek, composed in praise of Mohammed V., and translated by Valera into eleven verses of Castilian. We are



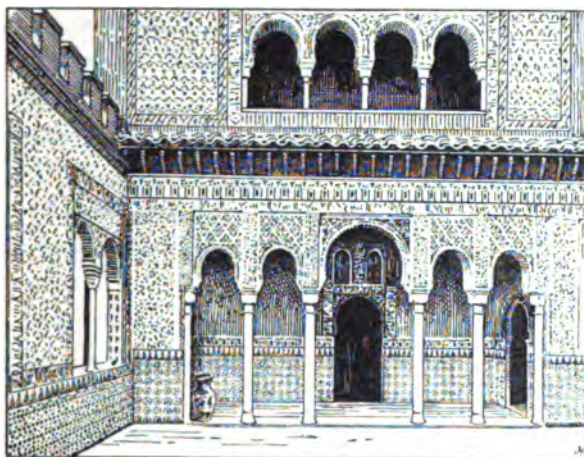
Interior of the Mihrab

exhorted "to look attentively at my elegance, and reap the benefit of a commentary on decoration ; here are columns ornamented with every perfection, the beauty of which has become proverbial."

In a corner of this superb apartment stands the famous vase (*el jarron*), alleged to have been discovered, full of gold, in a subterranean chamber of the palace. It dates from the fourteenth century, and is beautifully enamelled in white, blue, and gold.

A full description may be found in Davillier's work on Spanish pottery.

Beyond this hall, with which it communicates by one of the four arches mentioned, is a long narrow chamber called the Sala de los Ajimeces, from the



A Court in the Alhambra

graceful twin-windows that pierce its walls. Its ceiling and ornamentation are almost as fine as those of the larger hall. Facing the entrance is the beautiful little chamber called the Mirador de Lindaraja (from *darasha*, a vestibule), exuberantly decorated. Three tall windows, once filled with coloured crystals, look down into the charming Patio de Daraxa, and are

screened by jalousies of fine workmanship. The stained glass roofing is modern. In Moorish days the sultanas could look from behind the lattices across to the mountains, the view not being then obstructed by other buildings ; and when their eyes wearied of the prospect, they could decipher the numerous poetical inscriptions on the walls. One of these runs : " In this place appears a firmament of crystal, most admirable, on which is stamped beauty ; colour and light are here so disposed, that you may take them as one and the same and yet different." The inscriptions on the dado refer to Mohammed V. This Moorish boudoir is perhaps the best preserved apartment in the palace.

At the eastern extremity of the Court of the Lions is the Hall of Justice (Sala de la Justicia), so called from the baseless assumption that this was the seat of a Moorish tribunal. Through one of the three double entrances from the Court, we pass into a long chamber, on to which open seven smaller rooms or alcoves. The four small chambers are square and quite dark, and are separated by three larger oblong apartments. Here we notice the same gorgeous decoration, the same geometrical ornamentation, as in the other halls visited. The inimitable metallic lustre of the azulejos is seen here to the greatest advantage. The hall is lighted by windows let into three cupolas over the

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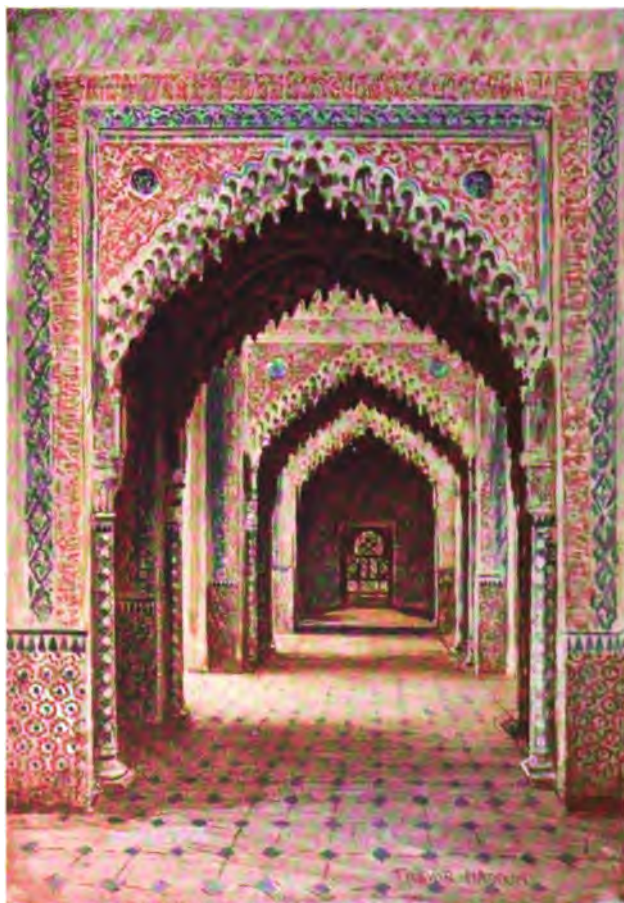
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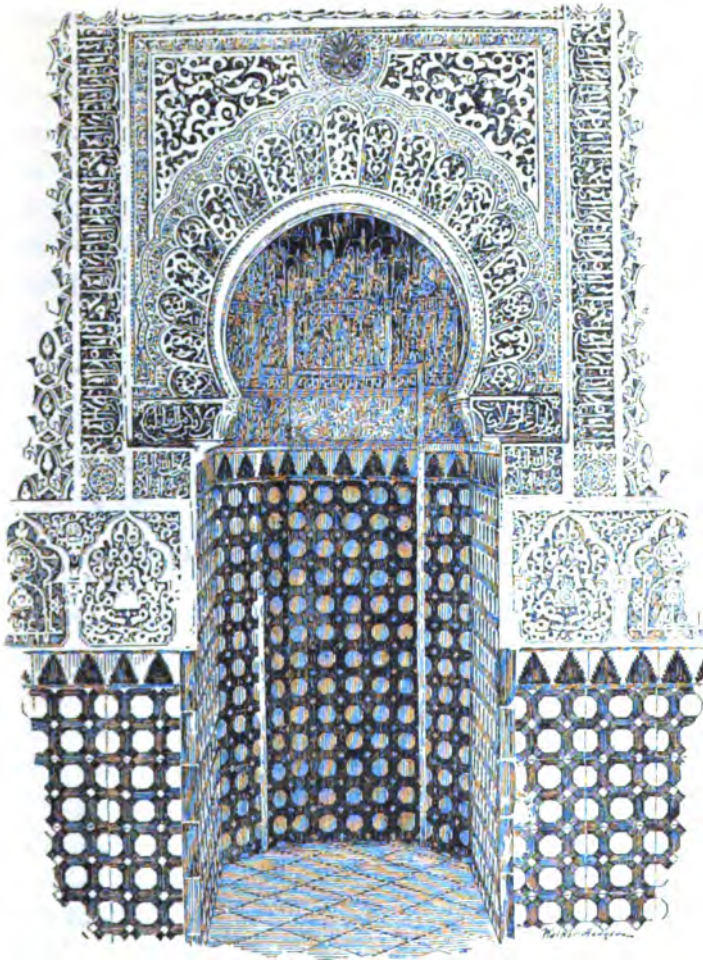
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The Alhambra.

Hall of Justice.



Mihrab ; or Oratory

archways. The arch over the central recess is perhaps the finest in the whole palace. But what renders this hall the most interesting in the building is that it contains what were believed to be the only existing specimens of mediæval Muslim figure painting. These curious pictures are done in bright colours (gold, green, red, &c.) on leather prepared with gypsum, and nailed to the ceilings of poplar wood. They ought long since



Gold Coin (Obverse and Reverse) of Mohammed I., the Founder of the Alhambra

to have been removed and placed under glass. When I last saw them, they were peeling off the ceiling in parts, and were rapidly becoming defaced. The painting above the central alcove represents ten personages, who may with some degree of certainty be identified with the first ten sultans of the Nasrid dynasty. According to Oliver, the monarch in the green costume, occupying the middle of one side, is Al Ahmar, the founder of the race ; on his right are seen Mohammed II. and Nasr Abu-l-Juyyush, to his left, Mohammed III. and Abul Walid ; the great

restorer of the palace, Mohammed V., in a red robe, occupies the place of honour on the opposite side, with Yusuf II. and Yusuf I. to his right, and Saïd Ismail and Mohammed IV. to his left. A strong family likeness may be traced between these illustrious persons, and the red beards of some suggest a liberal use of the dye still much resorted to in the East. The features of Mohammed V. are almost defaced. The background of this painting is gold relieved with a row of blue stars.

More interesting still are the pictures in the other alcoves. In the first, a castle with square towers and battlements is seen; in the foreground is a lion led in chains by a maiden, whose hands are rudely grasped by a savage with shaggy hair and beard. A rescuer hurries to her assistance in the person of a Christian knight, armed *cap-d-pie*, who transfixes her aggressor with his lance. On the other side of the picture, the same knight is attacked and overthrown by a Moorish cavalier. The Moor is evidently out hunting, for



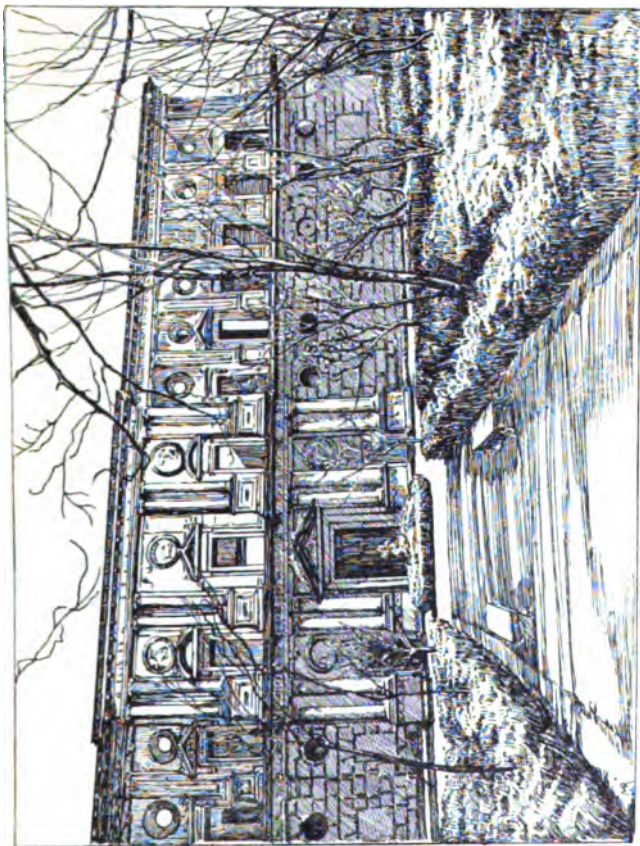
Arabian Lamp

beneath the combatants' horses his dogs are chasing the wild boar and fox. From the towers of the castle two fair ladies observe, with evident pleasure, the Christian's overthrow. In another part of the picture other knights are shown, following the chase ; and a page is seen, leaning against a tree, with sword and shield, presumably awaiting his master's return.

The second painting is entirely devoted to hunting scenes. Moors are seen chasing the wild boar, while the Christians occupy themselves with bears and lions. The huntsmen are also seen returning and offering the spoils of the chase to their ladies. The Moor greets his sultana with a benign and condescending air ; the Christian warrior kneels to the lady and offers his prize.

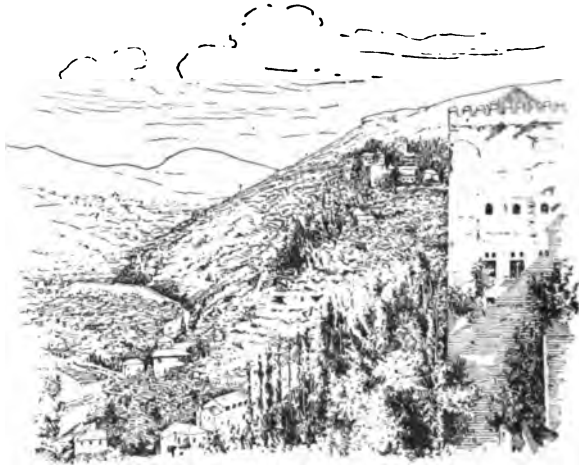
This picture, disgracefully enough, is now half covered with mildew, and the whole pattern is fast disappearing.

The most competent critics have now arrived at the conclusion that these paintings are of the fourteenth century, and therefore executed under the Muslim sovereigns, in defiance of the precepts of the Koran. Whether they were the work of a Mohammedan it is not so easy to say. Gayangos has pointed out remarkable similarities between these paintings and those in the Campo Santo at Pisa ; and on the whole it is probable that they were executed by an



Palace of Charles V.

Italian artist, whom the Muslims may not have scrupled to employ to do a thing for them unlawful. A parallel instance of casuistry is that of London Jews, who on certain feasts employ Christians to perform forbidden menial offices. It should also be



The Generalife from the Alhambra

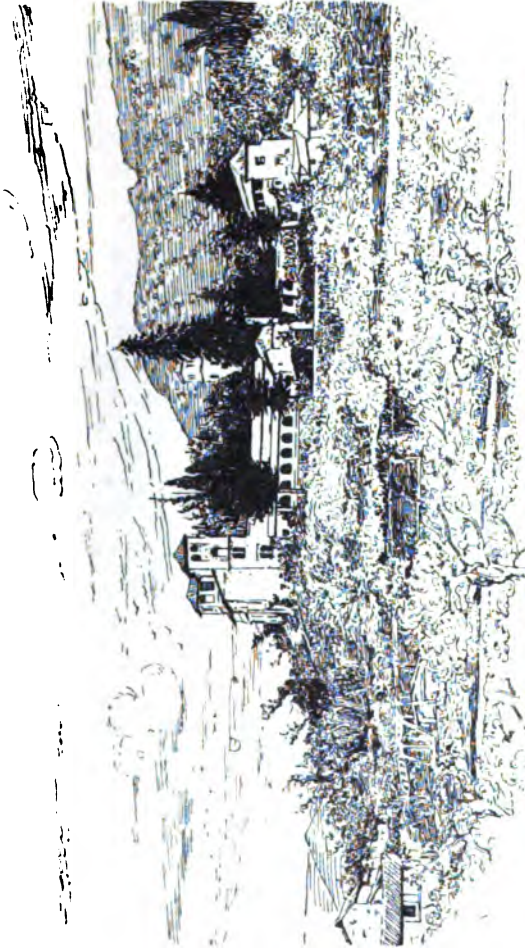
said that in the opinion of some modern Muslim doctors the prohibition of sculpture and painting is not to be taken as absolute. They were certainly never taken as such in Persia, where painting has long been a recognised art.

In the Sala de la Justicia is also found a basin for ablutions, on which are interesting reliefs of lions,



The Alhambra.

Garden of Lindaraja.



The Generalife

deer, and eagles. According to the inscription, this was designed in 1305 for the service of the mosque, a fact which seems to support the view of the authorities just mentioned.

It was in this hall that mass was celebrated in presence of the Catholic sovereigns on the day of the reconquest, in commemoration of which their device, the yoke and sheaf of arrows, was introduced into the decoration of the alcoves.

At the south-eastern extremity of this hall may be seen three tablets inscribed with the tremendously long epitaphs of Yusuf III., Mohammed II., and of a prince, probably the former's son. These slabs come from the adjacent tower (closed at present), which formed part of the Rauda or mausoleum of the Nasrid dynasty. I understand that the niches in which the turbehs were placed may still be distinguished, and the trough in which the body was washed.

On the lower floor of the palace, communicating with the Patio de la Mezquita by a long tunnel, called the Viaducto, are the baths—those important adjuncts of the Moorish household. Entering by the passage mentioned, we notice a divan on the right, presumably for the use of the eunuchs and attendants. We penetrate first into the Sala de las Camas, or chamber of repose. Skilfully restored by Contreras,

this is among the most brilliantly decorated rooms in the palace, yet, as elsewhere in this neglected pile, the gilding is being suffered to fade and the tiling in the niches is loosening and breaking up. Four



Approach to the Generalife

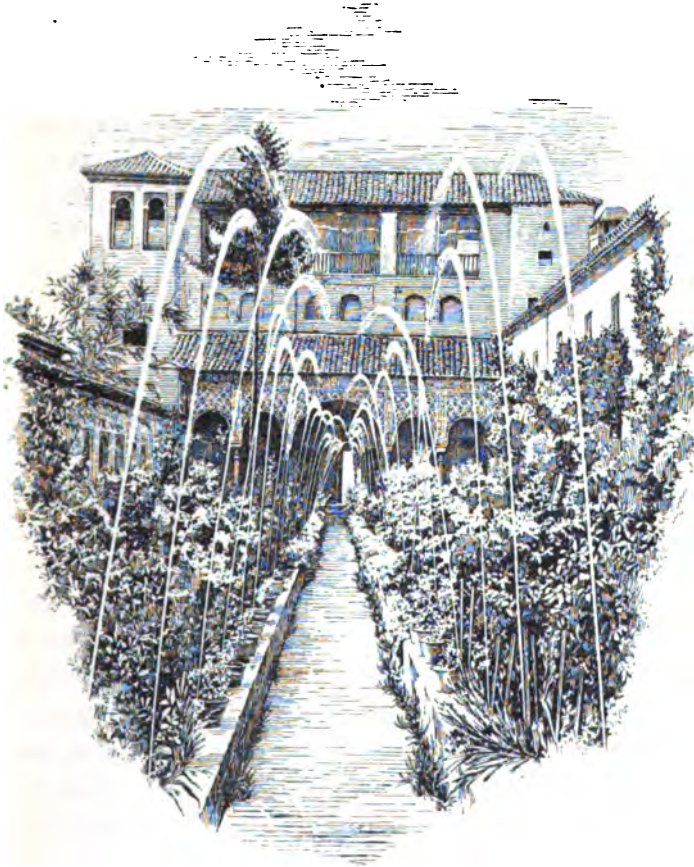
columns support the gallery running round the chamber, from which the songs of the odalisques were wafted down to the sultan reclining in one of the graceful divans below. The artesonado roofing of the gallery is decorated with stars, escutcheons, and geometrical patterns. The room is lighted from above. In the centre is a fountain. Thence you

pass into the Sala de Baños, with its white marble baths and pavement of glazed tiles. Under the arcades that uphold the dome, the bathers underwent the kneading and rubbing processes, not long since introduced among us. The light penetrates from above, through star-shaped apertures. The baths altogether consist of three halls, and two small chambers, stupidly called the Infantes' Baths.

THE MODERN STRUCTURES

From the baths, behind the principal divan, we may pass into the charming little court called the Patio de Daraxa, which intervenes between the Mirador de Lindaraja and the apartments constructed by Charles V. This is the most delicious spot in the Alhambra. However hot it may be elsewhere, here there is always grateful shade among the closely planted cypresses, orange, and peach trees, rising between trim parterres of box and bushes of roses and myrtles. In the centre is a basin with a seventeenth-century fountain. Here you will always find some artist—English, American, French, or German—committing to the canvas his impressions of one of the prettiest gardens men have ever fashioned for themselves.

The old Moorish garden used to extend uninter-



Generalife. The Acequia Court

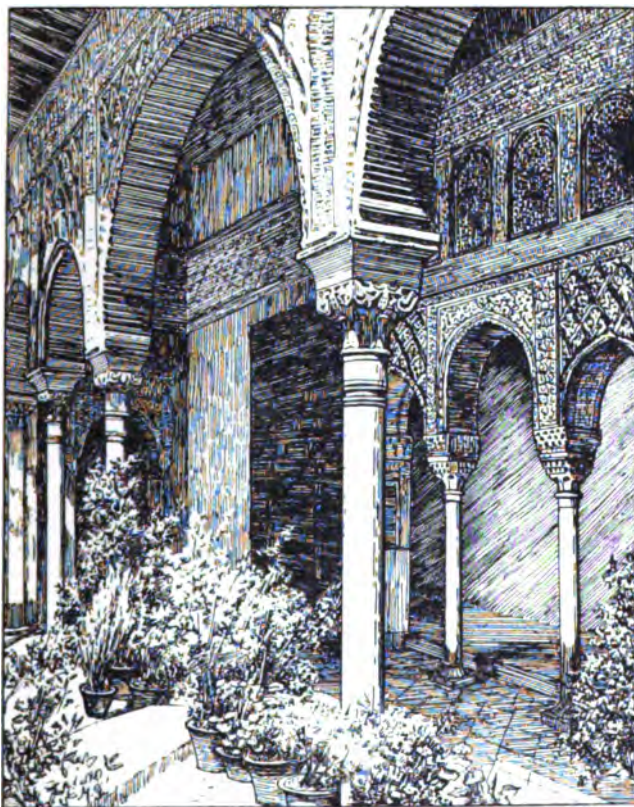
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ruptedly to the Tower of Comares. The apartments that shut it in on the north side were built by order of Charles V., and include the Tocador, or Queen's Dressing-Room. This was the room occupied by Washington Irving, according to his own showing: "On taking up my abode in the Alhambra, one end of a suite of empty chambers of modern architecture, intended for the residence of the governor, was fitted up for my reception. It was in front of the palace. . . . I was dissatisfied with being lodged in a modern apartment. . . . I found, in a remote gallery a door communicating apparently with an extensive apartment locked against the public. I procured the key, however, with difficulty; the door opened to a range of vacant chambers of European architecture, though built over a Moorish arcade. . . . This fanciful suite of rooms terminated in an open gallery with balustrades, which ran at right angles with a side of the garden I found that it was an apartment fitted up at the time when Philip V. and the beautiful Elizabeth of Parma were expected at the Alhambra, and was destined for the Queen and the ladies of her train. One of the loftiest chambers had been her sleeping-room, and a narrow staircase leading from it . . . opened on to the delightful belvedere, originally a mirador of the Moorish sultanas [*sic*], which still retains the name of the tocador. I determined at once to



The Alhambra.

The Queen's Boudoir.



Gallery in the Generalife

take up my quarters in this apartment. My determination occasioned great surprise, but I was not diverted from my humour."

This dainty room is surrounded by a gallery of



Generalife. Cypress Court

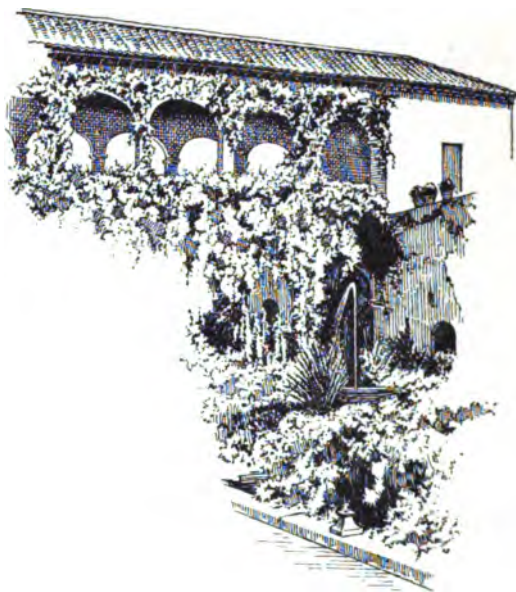
nine arches on Arabic pillars, painted and decorated with the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, Justice, Strength, and Temperance, Jupiter and Neptune, Plenty and the Vestal Fire. The interior of the chamber is adorned by paintings illustrating the fable

of Phaëton. All works of art were produced by two Italian artists, Giulio da Aquila and Sandro Mainere, both pupils of Raphael. Theirs, also, are the paintings in the corridor representing the victories of Charles V. The gallery was formerly filled with perfumes, which ascended through the perforated slab let into the flooring. The initials F and Y in the decoration refer, of course, to Ferdinand and Isabel. On the artesonado ceiling, painted and gilded, may be read the invocation, "The help and protection of God and a glorious victory for the Lord, Abu-l-Hejaj, Amir of the Muslims!" This ceiling may possibly have been brought here from another part of the palace. One may linger long in this beautiful room, feasting one's eyes on the entrancing view presented from the windows.

THE TOWERS AND GATES OF THE ALHAMBRA

"The wall of the Nasrids," writes Señor Fernández Jiménez, "of which scarcely a patch remains unimpaired, measured about 1400 metres from one extremity to the other, and was defended by twenty-six towers, counting as one the two buttresses that defended the gate of the Siete Suelos. To this number should properly be added the Torre de las Armas, which is pierced by a gate common to the

Alcazaba and Alhambra, and is therefore also a Nasrite work. The citadel was fortified, moreover, by five bastions, corresponding to as many gates, and by various external defences, of which traces remain



Gallery and Cypress Court, Generalife

in the modern alamedas. The thickness of the towers varies according to their situation and purpose, the distance between them ranging from 34 to 64 metres approximately." At the present day eighteen towers may be counted, including those of the Alcazaba: the Torres de la Vela, de las Armas, del Homenage,



The Alhambra.

Gate of Justice

de las Gallinas, de Puñales, de Comares, del Mirador de la Reina (containing the apartment called the *tocador*, above described), de las Damas, de las Picos, del Candil, de la Cautiva, de las Infantas, del Agua, de los Siete Suelos, de las Cabezas, de los Hidalgos, de la Polvora, and Quebrada. Most of these towers are inhabited by keepers of the Royal Demesne, or by old ladies, possibly their widows or parents.

The traveller coming up on foot from the town enters the fortified enclosure by the Gate of Justice (*Puerta de la Justicia*), where justice was administered in Moorish times after the patriarchal fashion. The gate is a building in itself, and consists really of two towers, one behind the other, connected by an upper storey. An inscription over one of the arches relates that it was built by Sultan Yusuf I. in 1348. Over the first outermost arch, which is of horse-shoe shape, is carved an open hand, the signification of which has occasioned much controversy. The most probable explanation is that it is a religious symbol, the five fingers being emblematic of Faith and



The Cypress of the Sultana
in the Generalife

of the four duties of the Muslim—to pray, to fast, to give alms, and to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Set further back in the tower is a smaller arch, over which is seen a rudely carved key. This was a favourite religious emblem of the Mohammedans, and



Generalife. The Sultana's Cypress

is believed to have symbolised the power of God to unlock the heart or some other attribute of the Divinity. There was a silly legend to the effect that the Alhambra would be lost only when the hand grasped the key—a tradition probably of Christian invention. The entrance winds in the interior of the tower past an altar erected in 1588 and a tablet

commemorating (like the Virgin on the second archway) the taking of the fortress by Ferdinand and Isabel. The horse-shoe archway on the inner side, which gives egress from the tower, shows some remains of fine enamelling.



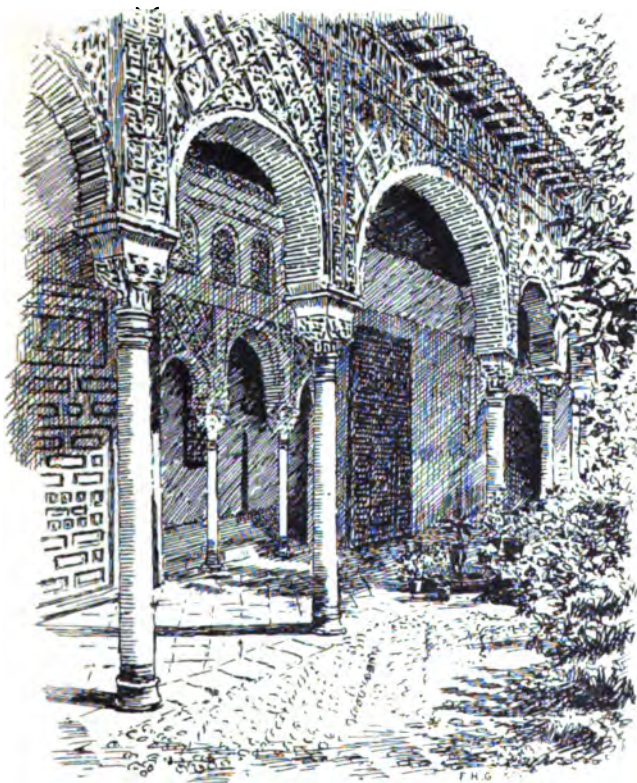
Gallery in the Generalife

Outside this gate, and passed by you when ascending from the town, is the Pilar de Carlos V., a fountain in the Renaissance style erected by Pedro Machuca in 1545 by order of the Conde de Tendilla. It is ornamented with the Imperial shield, and the heads of the three river-gods, Genil, Darro, and Beiro. The four medallions represent Hercules slaying the

Lernean Hydra, Phryxus and Helle, Daphne, and Alexander. The laurels growing out of Daphne's head give her somewhat the appearance of a Red Indian. These medallions are becoming rapidly defaced, and no effort at all is being made for their preservation.

It is easy to make the circuit of the old wall of the Alhambra, which closely follows the outline of the crest of the plateau. Walking eastwards from the Gate of Justice we pass the entrance for carriages and through a gate, closed like other parts of the Real Sitio between 12 noon and 3. The wall is crumbling in many parts and the bastions and buttresses are fast going to ruin. The double Torre de los Siete Suelos flanks a gateway now walled up, through which the luckless Boabdil is said to have passed when leaving the Alhambra for ever. The tower is so called because it is believed to descend seven storeys underground ; so far, four subterranean chambers have been discovered. Here tradition places the site of much buried treasure, and fables are told of phantom guards and tremendous spells. For all of which, consult Washington Irving.

At the south-east extremity of the plateau is the ruinous Torre del Agua, which derives its name from the stream that at this point bubbles over the cliff, falling in a charming cascade into a pool below. The



Generalife. Entrance to the Portrait Gallery

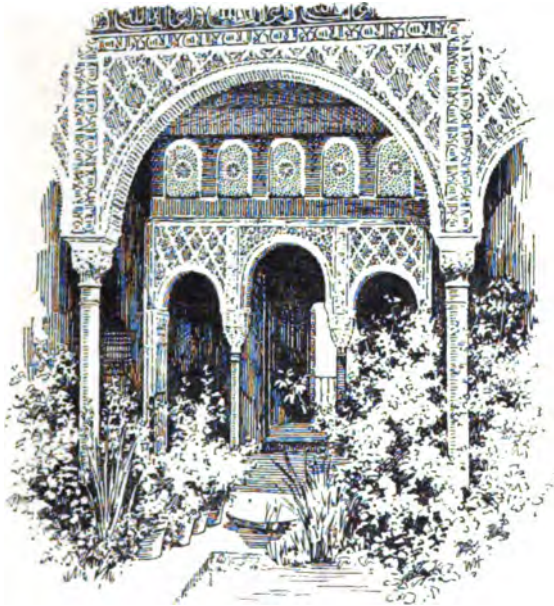
wall of the cliff is shrouded in living greenery, at which you gaze down from the scorched and ruined wall hungrily and lovingly. This water is conveyed



Generalife. Entrance to the Portrait Gallery

by an aqueduct across the ravine to the cool pleasure of the Generalife. Quitting this spot, not without reluctance, you traverse the uninviting space of cultivated ground called the Secano, and reach the little square tower named the Torre de las Infantas.

The key is to be obtained of the guardian at the tower opposite—the Torre de las Cabezas, I think. Built by Mohammed VII., this is one of the most

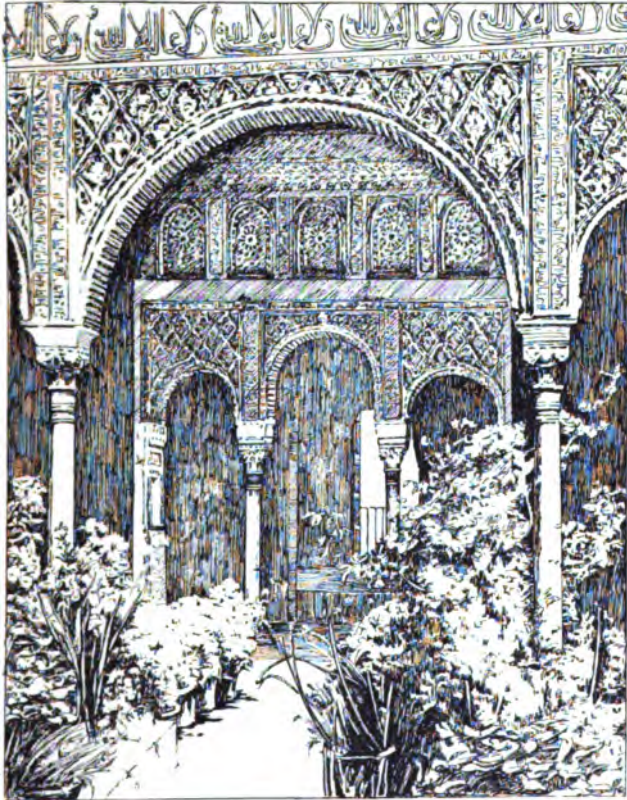


Generalife. Entrance to the Portrait Gallery

recent examples of Spanish-Moorish work. The interior is a perfect model of an Oriental dwelling-house on a small scale. Through the usual zaguan or zigzag vestibule, we reach a hall with a fountain in the centre and alcoves in three of the sides ; the

upper storey is on the same plan, smaller, but less ornate. The decoration is elaborate and possibly rather too florid. The view from the flat roof is one of the best in the fortress. Pass on, now, to the next tower, the Torre de la Cautiva. Here, through a zaguan and outer court, we enter a square chamber, which is more beautifully decorated than any apartment in the palace itself. Rose-coloured tiles with a fine metallic lustre adorn the walls, the tint of the stucco in the outer chamber being also reddish and producing a pretty effect. The walls, though thick, do not exclude the heat as effectually as those of the last tower. The numerous poetical inscriptions refer to the *Lion* resident here—a very different tenant from the imaginary captive after whom the tower is named.

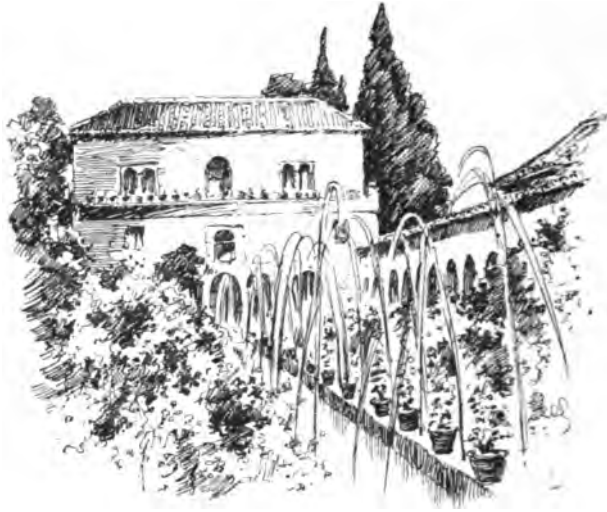
Further on is the Torre de los Picos, which seems to have been so styled from the battlements that surmount it. Completely remodelled at the time of the reconquest, it still retains some fine ajimez windows of the Moorish period. Close by is the Puerta de Hierro, or Iron Gate, constructed or restored by Ferdinand and Isabel, and facing the gate and path that lead to the Generalife. The Torre de las Damas, a fortified tower dating from the reign of Yusuf I., was assigned by Mohammed V. to his brother Ismail, who afterwards usurped his throne.



Generalife. Entrance to the Portrait Gallery

It contains a balcony and a hall decorated with much taste. This tower is believed by some authorities to mark the limit on this side of the Alhambra palace.

Between the Torres de las Damas and de los Picos



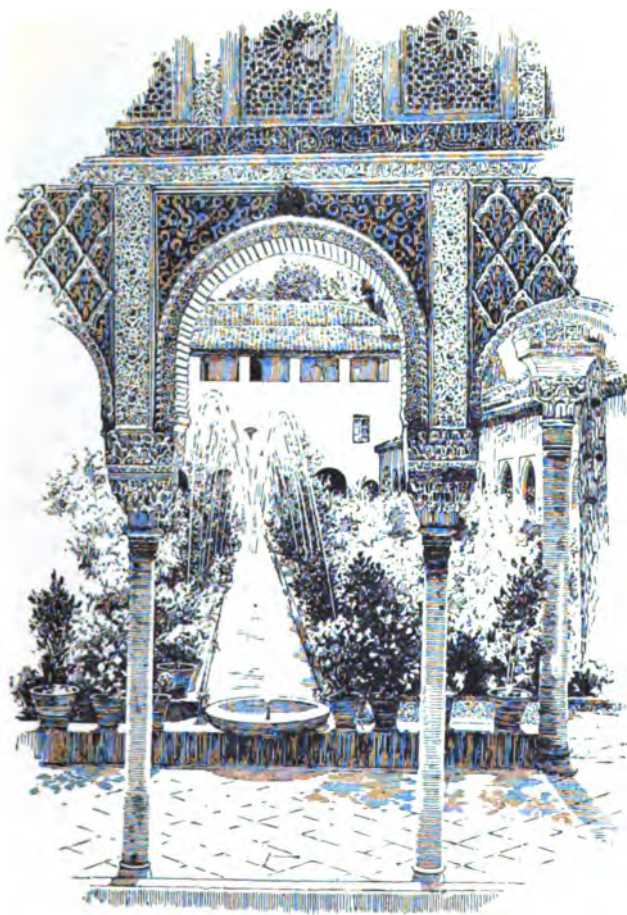
Generalife. The Acequia Court

is a charming little Muslim oratory or mihrab, approached through a private garden. At the reconquest, with the adjoining mansion, it was the residence of one Astasio de Bracamonte, the squire of the Conde de Tendilla. The roof is very fine, but the decoration has been badly restored and the colours are now all too glaring. The easterly niche and other essentials



The Alhambra

Torre de los Picos.



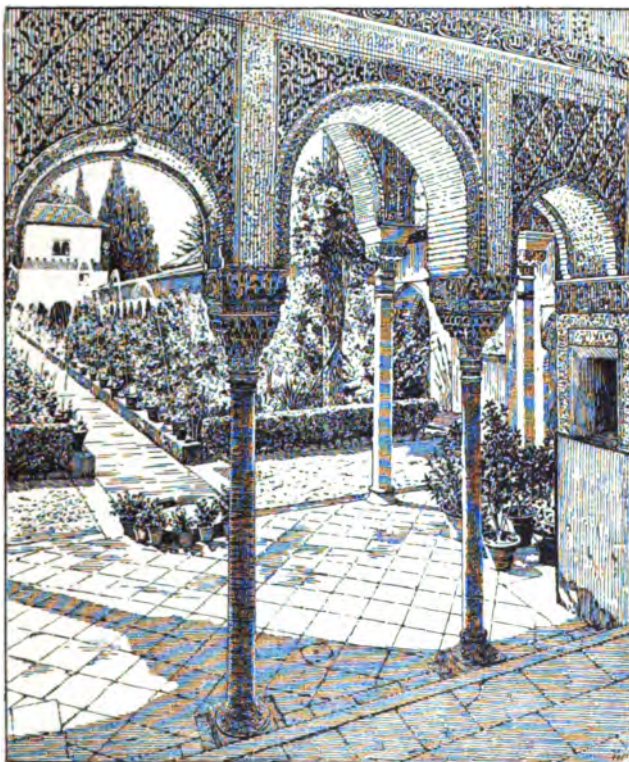
Generalife. Acequia Court

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to the Muslim rite can still be distinguished. In a side room are preserved two stone lions, like those in the palace, brought here on the demolition in 1843 of the old hospital founded by Mohammed V. in 1376.

The uninteresting sixteenth-century church of Santa Maria occupies the site of a mosque, which was pulled down in 1576, and which may or may not have been the building referred to by Al Khattib in these terms : " And among his [Mohammed III.'s] great actions, the greatest and most remarkable was the construction of the great mosque or aljama of the Alhambra, with all that it contained of elegance and decoration, mosaics and cements ; as well as lamps of pure silver and other great marvels. In front of the mosque were the baths, erected with the tribute paid by his Christian subjects. With the receipts from these, the mosque and its ministers were maintained." The modern church contains a Visigothic inscription on marble, recording the erection of three temples dedicated to St. Stephen, St. John, and St. Vincent, in the reigns of Witeric and Reccared. Some say that it was in this church, and not in the Sala de Justicia, that mass was first celebrated on the taking of Granada. At the end of the little Calle Real, where the pensions are situated, are some ruinous buildings which once formed part of the convent of San Fran-

cisco, erected on the site of a Moorish mansion, and where the bodies of the Catholic Kings lay awaiting



The Acequia Court of the Generalife

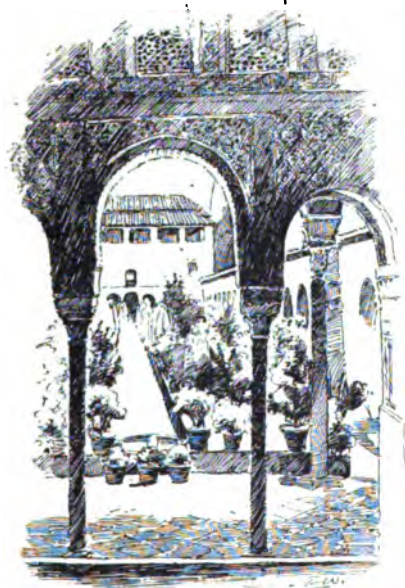
sepulture in the Chapel Royal. Close by was the house of the Condes de Tendilla (Marquises of Mon-

dejar), partially demolished by the holder of the title when he was deprived of the hereditary governorship of the Alhambra by Philip III. Continued investigations and excavations would no doubt reveal abundant remains of Moorish work, for it must be remembered that the walls enclosed not only the palace and citadel, but a small town. The population thus dwelling at the foot of the throne was mainly composed, in later times at least, of persons connected with the Court—ministers and officials, princes of the blood, ex-favourites and discarded sultanas, the ulema, alfakis, and scribes, soldiers of fortune and the sultan's guests. Such powerful tribes as the Beni Serraj and Beni Theghri, whose rivalry contributed to the downfall of the monarchy, would also have had quarters for their leaders here. The little town extended from the south-eastern extremity of the hill to as near the doors of the palace as the humour of the sultan for the time being may have permitted.

THE PALACE OF CHARLES V.

Far more conspicuous and imposing, exteriorly, than the Moorish Alcazar, is the huge square building, roofless and forlorn, which confronts you as you emerge from the Gate of Justice on to the Plaza de los Algibes. This is "the stately palace dome

decreed " but never finished, by the Emperor Charles V. On his visit to the Alhambra in 1526, he was so pleased with the site that he determined to construct here a royal residence, more suited, as he conceived



Generalife. Acequia Court

it, to the dignity of a monarch than the old home of the Nasrid sultans. The cost was defrayed by a heavy tribute exacted from the Moorish inhabitants, who had been threatened with new and severe disabilities and restrictions. Though a considerable

portion of the Alcazar was pulled down, the story that the Flemish Cæsar regarded it contemptuously as "the ugly abomination of the Moor" is probably fictitious, and certainly conflicts with the well-known utterance, "Unhappy he who lost all this!" drawn from him by a survey of the beauties of the Alhambra.



Generalife. Gallery in the Acequia Court

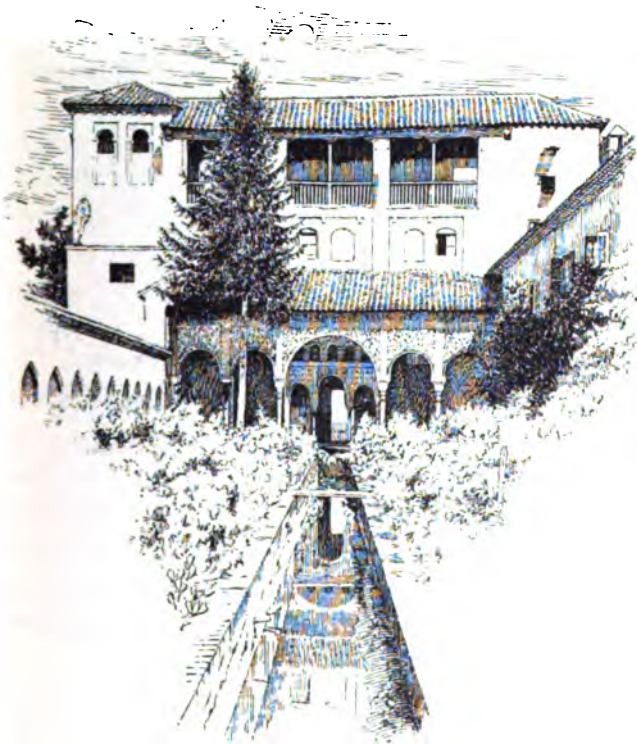
The plans for the new palace were drawn by Pedro Machuca, under whose direction the work was begun in 1538. The fabric grew very slowly under successive architects, and was abandoned before the middle of the seventeenth century. The world thus lost a very noble and splendid edifice—to judge from what was actually accomplished. It has long been the



The Alhambra.

Torre de las Damas from the
River Darro.

fashion to decry the building, and to argue that it presents an appearance incongruous with its sur-

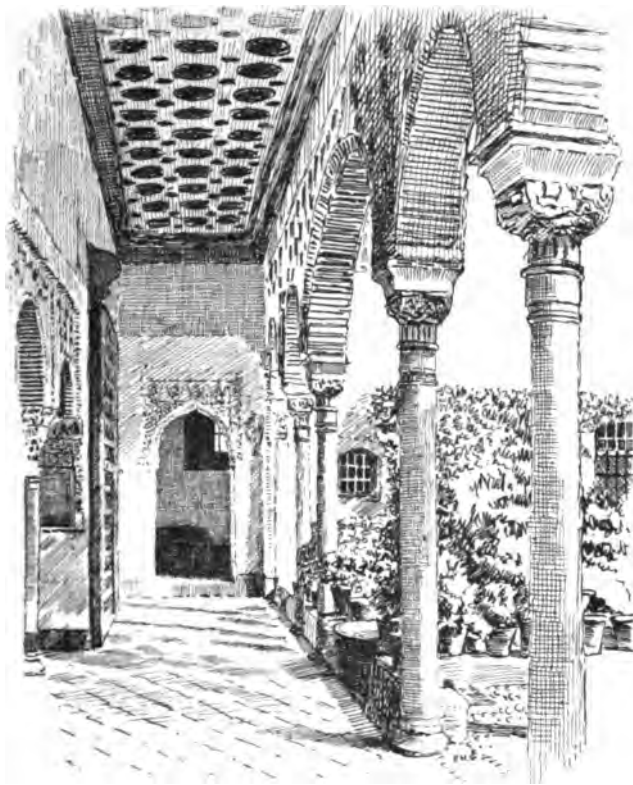


Generallife. Acequia Court

roundings. As the Moorish palace is almost invisible, and the other and less striking Arabic monuments are at some little distance, it is difficult to understand

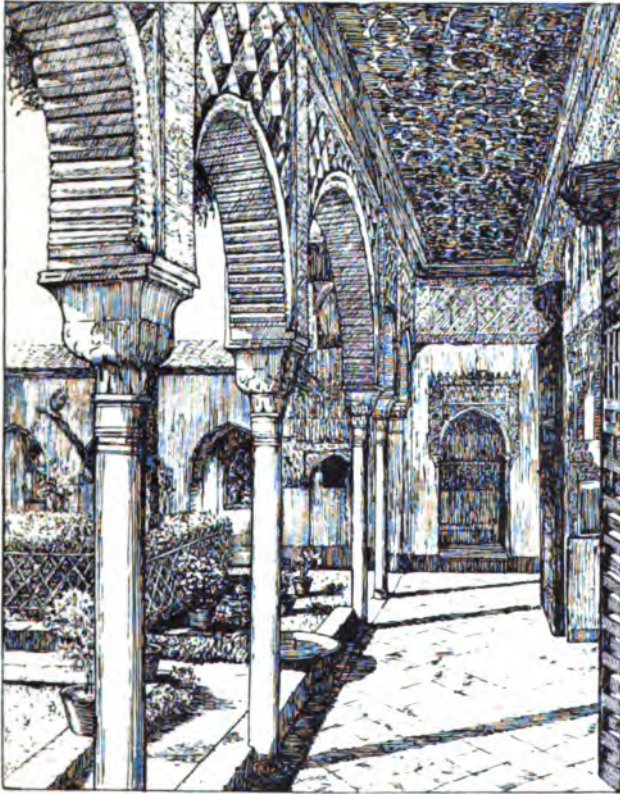
or to appreciate these objections. The structure forms a square, 207 feet across and 53 feet high. The lower storey of each façade is of the Tuscan order, the upper Ionic with a Doric cornice. The marble portals are very fine, and enriched with beautiful reliefs, illustrating or symbolising the emperor's victories. The motto *Plus Oultre* and the emblems of the Golden Fleece frequently occur in the decoration. The southern façade was to have been approached through a great triumphal arch, a design, like that for a great domed chapel, which was never realised. The interior of the palace is circular, and surrounded by galleries upheld by thirty-two columns. The lower stage is in the Doric, the upper in the Ionic style. The fine staircase dates from 1635. The palace is roofless and neglected, and only used nowadays for occasional public concerts and ceremonies. It is unfortunately characteristic of the country that no effort is made to restore and to complete what would have been one of the triumphs of Renaissance architecture.

The space before the deserted palace is prettily planted with hedges and provided with seats. Here and in the adjacent Plaza de los Algibes, the inhabitants of the Alhambra, residents and visitors, take the air and exchange gossip. It is a pleasant place enough. The stranger soon gets known to the little



Generalife. Gallery in the Acequia Court

colony, and no longer attracts the rude curiosity which he must usually expect in Spain. He soon feels sufficiently at ease to exchange pleasantries with the water-carriers who come to fill their vessels at the ice-cold well in the centre of the plaza, and whose harsh prolonged cry, "agua-a-ah!" assails the ear at every corner in the hot town below. They are always passing quickly up and down through the Gate of Justice, in haste to obtain their precious liquor and to dispense it to the thirsty citizens. A hard life theirs seems. Yet where would you find a race of men more cheerful? Young bloods also honour the alamedas of the Alhambra with their visits, and gallop and prance about on fiery steeds to the admiration of the rather demure white-robed maidens with roses in their hair. Dogs abound on the hill, in the precincts from which their ancestors would have been rigorously banned. And considering the manner in which these vivacious animals disturb your slumbers at all hours of the night, you may be disposed to regret that some such law does not obtain to-day. At all hours of the day, you will find an inexhaustible delight in the superb prospect from these pleasant promenades. Where there is so much beauty, it may seem ungrateful to complain that the view of the snow-streaked Sierra Nevada to the south-east is limited by the Cerro del Sol, and that the view,



Generalife. Gallery in the Acequia Court

however extensive, embraces no very notable site. This cavil to restrain the enthusiasm, often too exuberant, of those who have beheld vega and sierra, white-walled town and green plantation, from the old abode of Moorish kings! The view by night—above all by moonlight—is, I think, by far the most beautiful. The white city gleams with a shimmer that the luminous sky above reflects. The thousand points of light that stud the vault of Heaven are outnumbered and outshone by the myriad lights below. It is thus, at night time, that Granada resumes her old Oriental aspect. Leaning over the rampart, this seems no city of the West. The fancy strays to Syria, to white towns crowning brown hillsides in Galilee. The Christian's by day, Granada returns by night to the allegiance of the Crescent riding yet triumphant in the violet sky of Andalusia.

THE GENERALIFE

The walls and towers of the Alhambra look across an ivy-draped ravine—a study in green and red—at the Generalife, the “Palace of Recreation”—what we may call the Trianon of Granada. To obtain admittance you apply at the Casa de los Tiros in the town, where a card is given you free of charge.

Formerly in direct communication with the Alhambra by means of a path opening opposite the Puerta de Hierro, the Generalife is now approached by a long avenue terminating in a gate some distance beyond the Washington Irving Hotel. The name is a corruption of the words Jennat al arif—"the garden



The Aqueduct of the Alhambra

of the architect." The palace appears to have been built by a Moor named Omar, from whom it was purchased by the Sultan Abu-l-Walid. It then became the summer residence of the sovereign. At the reconquest we find it in the hands of Sidi Yahya, who claimed descent from Ben Hud, the rival of Al Ahmar. This personage renounced Islam and assumed the name of Don Pedro de Granada. The property is at present in possession of his descendant, the

Marquesa de Campotejar, who also owns the Villa Pallavicini at Genoa.

It is a long but delightful walk from the outer gate to the door of the palace, between beautiful shrubs and cypresses. On ringing you are admitted by a prepossessing daughter of Andalusia, by whom you are allowed to wander at will over this enchanting



Puerta del Hierro

villa. To-day it hardly deserves the name of palace. The first court is surrounded by an arcade, the decoration of which is older than that of the principal halls of the Alhambra, but is completely hidden by white-wash. A little chamber or belvedere to the left—generally closed—is used as a chapel, and said on doubtful authority to have been a mosque. Through the middle of the court, which is thickly planted with orange trees and myrtles, runs the canal which also



Generalife

Acequia Court

waters the Alhambra. At the far end of the court are two or three ugly apartments, containing a curious collection of portraits. The majority represent members of the Granada family, and one—number 11—is absurdly supposed to be the likeness of the



The late King of the Gipsies

founder of the race, Ben Hud, though he is dressed in the costume of the fifteenth century. This is the portrait which English travellers, and even the usually correct Baedeker, persist in mistaking for Boabdil's. Here is also shown the family tree of the Granadas. In another room are portraits by unknown artists of Ferdinand and Isabel, Joanna I. and Philip I., Charles V., and other Spanish monarchs. The collection is by no means valuable or interesting.

Turning to the right, we enter the gardens of the Generalife—assuredly one of the most delicious spots ever haunted by the followers of Mohammed. Water gushes up everywhere, and moistens the roots of myrtles, orange trees, gorgeous oleanders, cedars, and tall cypresses—the finest trees in all Spain. Beneath one of these—that to your right as you reach the



Gipsies Dancing

head of the first flight of steps—a sultana is fabled to have been discovered listening to the amorous declaration of one of the ill-fated Abencerrages. Truly the place seems made for lovers' trysts. Planned in terraces, you mount from one bower to another, till you reach the bare, ugly belvedere, from which an enchanting view is obtained of the fairy-land below and of the mountains, the vega, and the city. The view of the Alhambra from this point is very fine. Behind one is the eminence called the

Silla del Moro, where once a mosque stood, and farther off, some large Moorish reservoirs, which partly supplied these gardens with water, and one of which the troops of Don John of Austria drank dry. But more delightful and inspiring than the



Near the Torre de los Picos. A Gipsy Family

panorama are the gardens themselves — a Paradise which the stranger generally has to himself, and which he is likely to remember most gratefully of all the things of Granada.

You may return to the Alhambra by the Cuesta del Rey Chico, the pleasant road that separates the two hills and passes beneath the picturesque aqueduct

N

near the Torre del Agua. But a serpent haunts this Eden in the person of a gipsy, fantastically and theatrically attired in a costume given his grandfather



Gipsy Gossip near the Aqueduct

by Fortuny the artist. This child of Nature dogs your footsteps, imploring you to buy his photographs, or to accept his services as a guide. If you are provided with a camera, he will strike a picturesque



View of the Generalife.



The Generalife from the Alhambra

attitude every few yards. This irritating Bohemian is connected in some vague manner with the dilapidated and venerable Romanies, whose extraordinary gyrations, fancifully called dances, are witnessed by ill-advised visitors to Granada. For this depressing and yet laughter-provoking exhibition a charge of five francs is made by the "guides." Of this sum only about fifty centimes finds its way into the pockets of the miserable gipsies, whom the tourist, desirous of spending five francs without any pleasure to himself, would do better to entertain to a hearty meal.

CHAPTER III

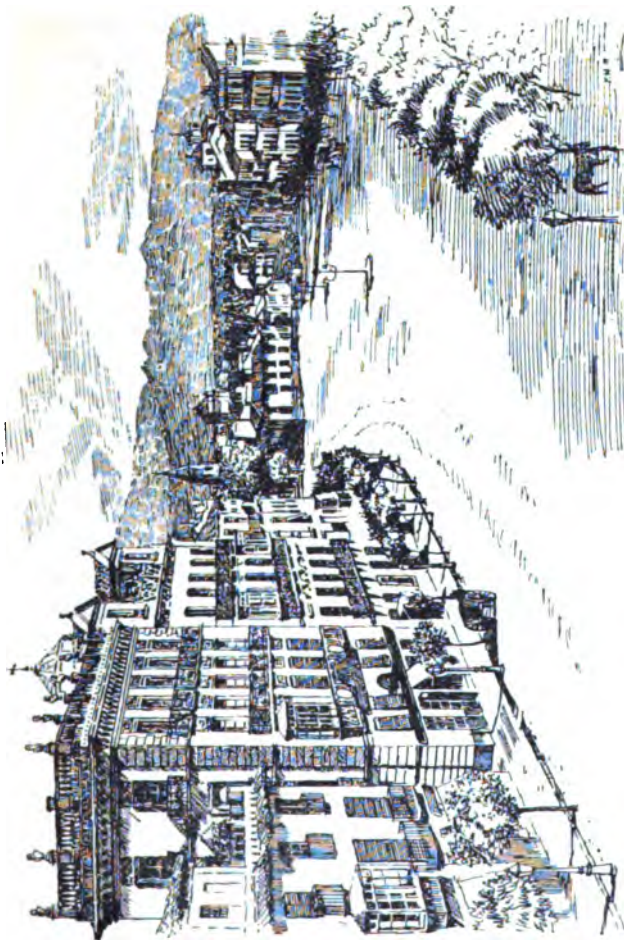
THE MODERN TOWN—MOORISH REMAINS

IF Granada had become a Christian city two centuries sooner, she would have preserved her Moorish aspect longer. This is no mere paradox. Alfonso VI. and St. Ferdinand approached their conquests in a spirit very different from that of the Catholic kings. The works of the Muslim were admired and imitated. The palace of the sultans of Seville became the residence of the Castilian king, with as little alteration in the scheme of the fabric as was consistent with the new owner's requirements. Seville to-day retains much of the Moorish character. Granada fared very differently. In the interval which elapsed between the conquests of the two cities, the Spaniard had become a bigot and an iconoclast. He wished not only to subdue the Moor but to efface him. It is a matter for surprise that the peerless Alhambra escaped demolition. Doubtless, had the emperor's palace been completed before the middle of the seventeenth century, the site of the halls of Al Ahmar would have been occupied by the Versailles-like gardens of a Hapsburg prince.

Ferdinand and Isabel were sincere and thorough fanatics. They detested Mohammed and all his works. The beauties of an art alien to their creed appealed to them as little as to Cromwell and his iron-sides. As a result the city which was of all others in Spain the longest and the last in the possession of Islam has far less of a Moorish character than Seville, Cordova, and Toledo.

A white city of narrow, winding streets and lanes, and arid, desert-like open spaces. A city old but not venerable, which has lost the stamp of antiquity without acquiring the imprint of modernity. Granada reminds one rather of the thirties and forties of the last century than of any remoter and more heroic epoch; and indeed in those decades, when Théophile Gautier saw the place, it presented a livelier and more picturesque appearance than now. Yet it is far from being the "living ruin" it is called by a certain writer; were it more ruinous, it would wear a more romantic guise. The beggars, too, who till lately infested the streets and squares, have vanished. A clean sweep was recently made of them by the authorities, who seem to have acted with a thoroughness rare in Spain, or indeed in any country. There is not a busy thoroughfare in London where you would not now meet with more mendicants than in the whole of this city of seventy thousand inhabitants. In other direc-

THE MODERN TOWN—MOORISH REMAINS 199



The Puerta Real

tions the Granadinos have shown a disposition to set their house in order. Driving from the station, having passed the Bull Ring—that foul blot on the physiognomy of a Spanish town—you pass along a straight wide street, with high white buildings on either side, with a bank, a modern church, and a brand-new hotel: this is the Gran Via, the new (and, in anticipation, principal) street, which has been driven, of recent years, through one of the oldest quarters of the town. But the enterprising citizens would do well to remember that the street architecture which is eminently suitable for Paris and Vienna is quite out of place in their own sunburnt city. The Moors knew what they were about when they built their streets narrow and shady. To-day, one turns with infinite relief from this pretentious, glaring Gran Via into the cool alley-like Zacatin or Calle Elvira.

The Puerta Real is the focus of the town's life. It is an irregular open space, of which apparently the designers knew not whether to make a square or an avenue; it contracts ultimately into the latter. Here are situated the few—the very few—decent cafés Granada contains, and they are well patronised at night, the abstemious Spaniards drinking nothing stronger in the summer-time than lemonade or the like. While you are seated at the tables outside these cafés, the shoeblack boys, as in Cairo, leave you no

THE MODERN TOWN—MOORISH REMAINS 201

peace. Their attentions are not resented by the Dons, who are as sensitive as to the smartness of their foot-



The Calle Reyes Catolicos

wear as the Americans. By day, the Puerta Real is well-nigh deserted. You are almost burnt up crossing

from one side to another. At six on a summer's evening, Granada wakes up. The cafés begin rapidly to fill. The water-carriers coming down from the



Calle de San Anton

Alhambra take up the cry of “agua-a-ah . . . !” newsboys thrust *El Defensor* beneath your nose. Carriages—the carriages that Gautier thought smarter than those of Madrid—pass on their way to the alamedas, occasionally a motor-car rushes past.

THE MODERN TOWN—MOORISH REMAINS 203

Bicycles are rare in this land of bad roads. As the stars come out, the houris of the city come forth to take the air. They are not very beautiful, these overpraised Andalusians, but a certain sprightliness distin-



Hotels near the Alhambra

guishes them, and justifies perhaps the volley of loudly-expressed compliments directed upon them by the caballeros at the café tables. But the Andalusian damsel is very circumspect in her behaviour, and it is difficult to imagine a place—to judge by externals—where Mrs. Grundy would be more at home than here.

The Spaniard learnt something from the Moor—his method of training women. One imagines that it is like these ladies of Granada that the women of Constantinople would comport themselves were they suddenly suffered to go out unveiled. But the Moors themselves—where are they? Have they left nothing



In the Gipsy Quarter. Sage Advice

in this, the last seat of their empire, except the palace yonder on the hill? Let us leave the dusty Puerta Real and go in search of memorials of Granada's golden age.

The limits of the Moorish city corresponded pretty closely with those of the modern town, so that the five hundred thousand inhabitants of whom some historians speak, must have been somewhat closely packed. The oldest part is the quarter called the Albaicin, and it is not unsafe to ascribe the foundation of the newer and central parts to the Nasrid dynasty. It was in the Albaicin, the name of which is derived from Al Bayyazin, "the quarter of the falconers," that the Zirite sultans reared their new and old Alcazars. At least so most authorities are now agreed, though others identify these works with the Kasba of the Alhambra. And, after all, those early kings of Granada strutted for so short a time on the

stage of history that the exact place of their abode is not a problem likely to interest the foreigner at all events. With patience you may still discover a few remains of this Alcazar—a wall or an arch built in amongst the formless, ruinous houses that constitute this most wretched, squalid quarter of the city. The old Moorish wall to the north is still standing, and it is flanked on the east by the Cerca del Obispo Don Gonzalo. This prelate was a captive of the infidel, and quite probably worked at this wall; for the legend anent him is borne out by certain inscriptions, which prove that the fortifications were constructed by Christian captives in the reign of the tenth or the eleventh Alfonso.



In the Gipsy Quarter

It is, in its way, a wonderful place, this Albaicin. The home of sultans and princesses in Moorish days, after the conquest it continued for a century or more to be the aristocratic quarter and the home of many families of rank. It is hardly credible, you would think. To-day it is a congeries of ruins, of houses unutterably dilapidated, of tottering walls, of shapeless masses of rubble and stone. Its filthy alleys form a trackless labyrinth, into which it is hopeless to adventure without a guide. Here dwell in burrows,

in holes in the ground, or in caves which once perhaps were cellars, five hundred or so gipsies, wretched creatures who perform curious antics for the benefit of the stranger. It is they who are dragged out to entertain the visitors at the Alhambra hotels. Yet this, the very capital of squalor and misery, has a



Gipsy Blacksmiths

rare attraction for tourists. It is one of "the sights." I must add that it is a sight not to be enjoyed without a certain risk. To penetrate into the Albaicin without the escort of a well-known native or in a large party, is to court at the least robbery. And the thrill at the nearness of danger is about the best thing to be experienced in the visit.

The Albaicin was more interesting as late as seventy years ago, when a number of fine old Moorish mansions were still standing. Then perhaps you might still have traced the House of the Weathercock built by



Gypsies at the Doors of their Caves.

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Aben Habuz (Bádis), and have seen the Casa de las Tres Estrellas, the theme of a well-known Spanish romance, before it was restored.

The two most important remains of the Moorish period within the city are the gates leading to this quarter from the north-west. You pass the massive, crenellated Gate of Elvira on your left as you drive from the station past the Bull Ring and across the Plaza del Triunfo. It is a simple structure, pierced with a horseshoe archway, which does not call for much description. More picturesque and ancient is the Puerta



A Gipsy Beauty

Monaita or Bab Albonaida, a stern square tower, with graceful arches, to be seen from the Plaza, but quite surrounded by private property. The towers were the bulwarks of Granada on this side, and perhaps Boabdil entered through them when he returned suddenly from captivity, and seizing the Alcazar of the Albaicin, bade defiance to his uncle in the Red Palace. Now walk down the Gran Via, and just a little to the right of the junction with the Reyes Catolicos, and on the left-hand side of that street, a short alley leads you to the Casa del Carbón, easily recognised by its horseshoe arch. The façade, blackened with coal dust, exhibits traces of former

splendour. The stucco work and twin windows are in good Moorish style, and within the portal may be



Gipsy Quarter. The Caves

seen a finely carved roof. This building, which dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have been the Alhondiga Jedida or fondûk, the Corn Exchange of Moorish Granada. The interior has

entirely lost its primitive character, and the place is now used as a storehouse for coal. There is little to detain one. We retrace our steps across the Reyes Catolicos, built in the middle of last century over



Gipsy Dwelling

the river Darro, and enter the lane called the Zacatin, the most famous and once the most important street in Granada. Here are some of the best shops in the city, and the ancient character has quite gone. Even Gautier's description would hardly apply to it to-day. "The Zacatin is always crowded. Now you meet a group of students on a tour from Salamanca, playing

the guitar, the tambourine, the castanets, and triangle, while they sing couplets full of fun and animation ; then again your eye encounters a gang of gipsy



Gate of Elvira

women, with their blue flounced dresses studded with stars, their long yellow shawls, their hair in disorder, and their necks encircled with big coral or amber necklaces, or a file of donkeys loaded with enormous jars, and driven by a peasant from the Vega as sun-burnt as an African." Traffic has now drifted from

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the Zacatin to the Reyes Catolicos. More in the Moorish style is the adjacent Alcaicéria, a large exchange built on the site of the silk market destroyed by fire in 1843. The arches resemble those of the Alhambra, and the whole reminds one of the markets

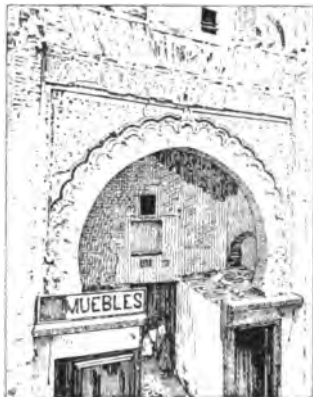


Gate of Elvira

of the East. In Moorish days this quarter was the scene of great commercial activity. Silk was the principal industry of the place. Adjoining was the madrassa or university, founded by Yusuf I. to replace that of Seville. It is now called the Ayuntamiento Viejo or Casa del Cabildo Antiguo, and faces the Royal Chapel. Having been converted first into a palace for the Catholic Sovereigns, then into a Chapter

House for the Cathedral, next into a Town Hall, and finally into a cloth warehouse, this venerable edifice has not preserved much of its original character. Fortuny has left a picture of the exterior. The mihrab of the madrassa has been recently discovered and

restored. It is somewhat in the style of the Alhambra. The Chapter Room has a beautiful roof in the mudejar style—this being the name applied by Spanish writers to work undertaken by Moorish workmen under the direction and influence of Christian rulers, or to Christian imitations of the Moorish style.

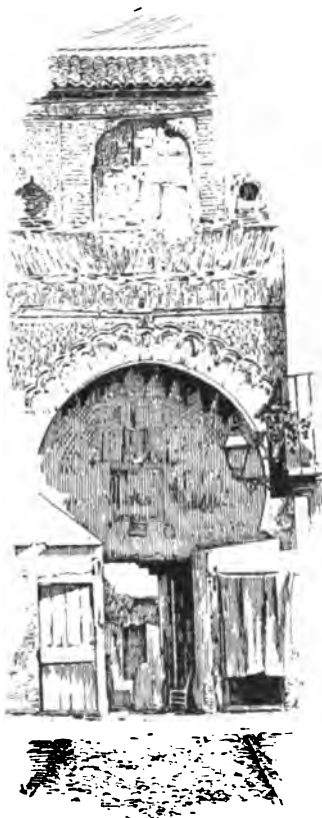


The Casa del Carbón

Still it must be admitted that our search for memorials of the Mohammedan epoch has not been very fruitful. We pass down the Zacatin into the far-famed Bibarrambla square, mentioned in song and story, and supposed to have been the theatre of the most striking events in the city's history. Here the valiant Moor, Ghazal, combated the bull, and laid the foundations of the art of tauromachy, as Goya's pencil has shown us. Here on more than one occa-

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sion Christian knights, forbidden to have recourse to arms in their own countries, would settle their differences with sword and lance by favour of His Moorish Majesty. From the lattice windows round the square the women of the harem would witness the rude shocks and encounters of the mail-clad chivalry of the north, while the bearded sultan and his people would smile grimly on, no doubt enjoying this spectacle of infidel dog destroying dog. Then came darker days, when Muslim turned his sword against Muslim, and the square became the scene not of chivalric encounters but of indiscriminate slaughter. The gate or Bib er Ramla itself was standing till quite recently, and was latterly known as the Arco de las Orejas (Arch of the Ears), because



The Casa del Carbón

of an outrage that occurred here in 1621. At a festival arranged in honour of Philip IV. a raised platform on which were seated a number of richly dressed ladies collapsed; and their ears were brutally torn off by ruffians for the sake of their earrings.

There is nothing antique or Moorish about the Bibarrambla to-day. It is just a bright sunny square surrounded by commonplace shops and buildings. In the mornings it is fragrant and gay with the blossoms of the flower-sellers, and thanks to its proximity to the market it is constantly traversed by processions of mules with loutish men and witch-like old women perched like Chinese idols on their backs. But you must have a lively fancy indeed if you recover much from the storied past at this bustling spot.

The Bib er Ramla was one of the twenty-eight principal gates which pierced the old Moorish city wall, the chief others being the Elvira, the Monaita, Puerta Real, Bib Atauwin, Bib Laushah (Puerta de las Granadas), Bib Shomays on the Guadix road, and Bib Fag Alosa (on the Albaicin side). The Bib Atauwin gate stood near the Hotel Alameda, on the site occupied by the ugly infantry barracks distinguished by two grotesque figures of grenadiers. Ferdinand the Catholic built a castle here, which, with the remains of the Moorish gate, were pulled down in the eighteenth century.



The Alcaiceria

An interesting relic of the rule of the cleanly Paynim is the Bañuelo or Moorish bath, to be seen at No. 39 Carrera de Darro. It is not very easy of access, as the occupants of the house obstinately refuse to answer the bell or to pay attention to the stranger clamouring for admittance. When, however, your patience is rewarded, you enter a typical but extremely dilapidated Moorish bath chamber with the customary alcoves and annexes. The arches are of the horseshoe pattern, and evidently belong to a remote period—probably to the era of the Zirites.

Traces of the Moorish occupation constantly occur in one's rambles through Granada and in the architecture of its buildings, but it is best to take these as they come, as it is almost impossible to study them independently and systematically. Nor, frankly, would they repay the trouble. The Bañuelo almost faces the ruined arch of the old Kantara al Kadi, the bridge across the Darro, from which a path led up to the Torre de las Armas. This Carrera de Darro is one of the oldest and most picturesque parts of the city. The rugged walls of the Alhambra rising opposite, the river swirling in its rocky, tortuous bed, the old, old houses, and the curious, ruinous bridges, make up a scene that appeals very strongly to the artist. Formerly the Darro flowed right through the town to join the Genil, in the light of day. Soon



Ancient Arab Silk Market (Alcaiceria)



Exterior of an old House



Tower and Aqueduct.

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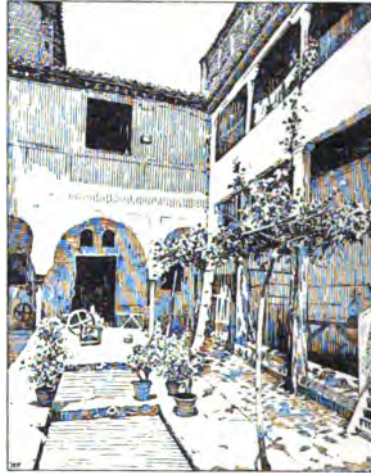
after the reconquest, the Plaza Nueva was built over it, the roofing-in being completed by the construction of the Reyes Catolicos street in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Darro was called Hadaro by the Arabs. It washes down minute particles of gold, and it is a common sight to see men wading in its waters and sifting its sands in wooden bowls called dormillos. To the learned Official Chronicler of the Province of Granada (Don Francisco de P. Valladar) I am indebted for the following curious particulars—



Courtyard of a Moorish House in the Albaicin

“In 1850 this industry attained so much importance and excited the cupidity of natives and foreigners to such a degree that the banks of the Darro were spoken of as another California. The exploitation was carried on principally in the Barranco de Doña Juana, near Huetor, and in the Barranco Bermejo in the Cerro del Sol, where the Aurífera Granada works were established, with a plant invented by Mr. Napoleon Simyan, one of the most fervent promoters of the

new California. The machinery set up in the Barranco Doña Juana, and invented by a local barrister and carpenter, yielded no results whatever. Other works with a plant brought from France, carried on near Cenes by Professors Montells and Coello, alike proved



Court of an Arab House in the Alhambra

barren, and the promoters were obliged to admit, as Hernando de Zafra had found three hundred and fifty years before, that the results would not defray the working expenses. Notwithstanding, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, the attempt was renewed, and cost M. Goupil, the well-known expert in the fine arts, several millions of francs. At the present time there



Courtyard of a Moorish House in the Albalcin

is a likelihood of the enterprise being resumed." *Cosas de España!* Seen in summer this auriferous stream has not enough volume to bear a paper boat, yet the local records abound in instances of devastation caused by its sudden floods and shiftings of its channel.



Courtyard of an old House in the Albaicín

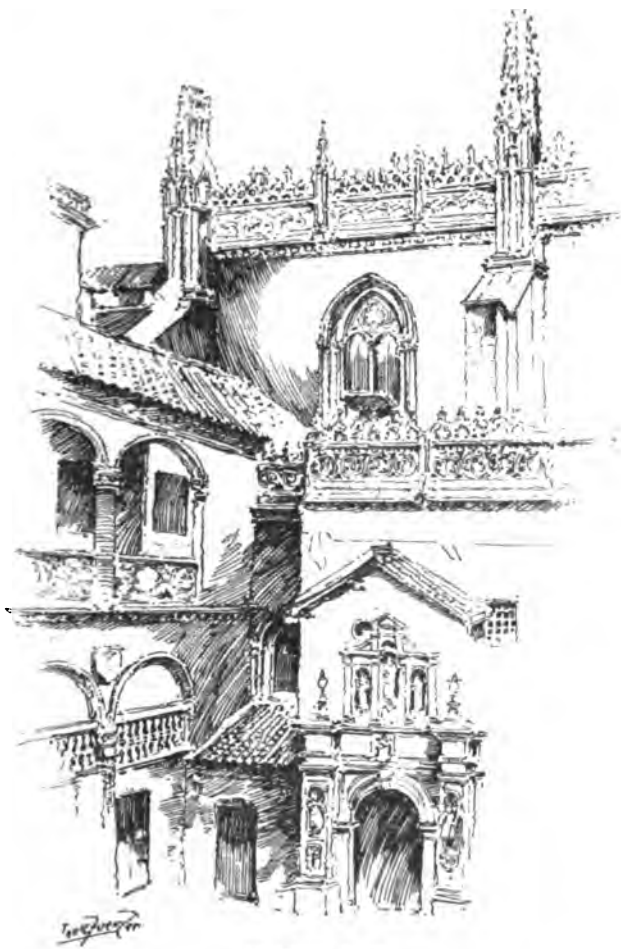
CHAPTER IV

THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND CATHEDRAL

GRANADA, as the scene of the final downfall of the Moorish rule in Spain, assumed for a time an importance in the eyes of its conquerors which its geographical position and resources hardly warranted. The Alhambra hill, as we have seen, was to be crowned by one of the grandest royal residences in Spain; and though that project was never accomplished, the conquered city was soon endowed with memorials of its re-incorporation in the Spanish monarchy worthier of a much greater town. Rather strangely, the three edifices to which I more particularly refer, now constitute but one building. The Sagrario, marking the site of the old mosque, the Capilla Real (Chapel Royal)—the Memorial Chapel of the Catholic Kings—and the Cathedral are welded together into one great mass of stone. Facing the main front of the Cathedral, the unimposing building immediately flanking it on the right is the Sagrario. And this should be considered first and visited last.

Nominally the first act performed by a Spanish

sovereign on his entry into a conquered Muslim city was the purification of the principal mosque and its consecration as a Christian place of worship. This rule was followed at Granada, but the first Mass was celebrated in the mosque of the Alhambra, now transformed into the church of Santa Maria, which continued for many years to be the pro-cathedral of the new See. There is reason to believe that the mosque of the Albaicin, the site of which is occupied by the church of the Salvador, also served for a few years as the mother church of the city. Finally the principal mosque (aljama) was erected into a cathedral, and was described by the Abbé Bertaut of Rouen (quoted by Valladar), writing in the year 1669, as "square, or rather longer than wide, without vaults, and with a roof covered with tiles, which for the most part were not even joined. The whole was supported by a number of small stone columns, harmoniously arranged." Jorquera says the mosque was composed of five low naves. Whether or not it was originally a Visigothic church, as some writers pretend, the temple probably dated from the earliest period of the Nasrid rule, and the tower which contained the mihrab was long famous in Christian legend as the Torre Turpiana. The building, after serving the purposes of the Catholics for over two centuries, was demolished in the first half of the eighteenth century,



The Chapel Royal

P

to make room for the present Sagrario or Parish Church. As a cathedral it had long been superseded by the existing edifice, dedicated on August 17, 1561.

Of these three buildings, or parts of the same building, the Chapel Royal should be visited first.

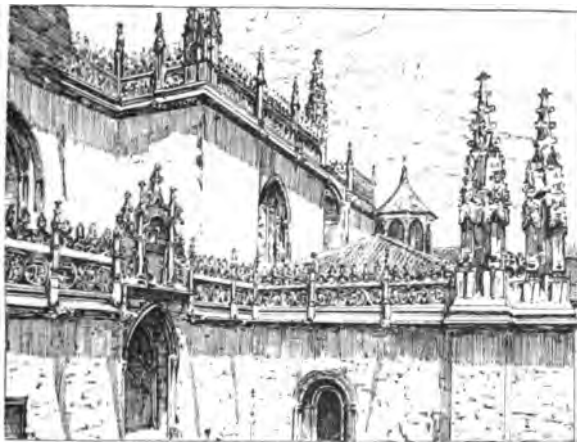


The Chapel Royal

It occupies half the right side of the Cathedral, lying behind the Sagrario, and opposite the Ayuntamiento Viejo. Like the Cathedral it may be entered freely while mass is being celebrated before nine or ten in the morning according to the season, and during other offices of the Church. At other times, it need hardly be said, the sacristan will be ready enough to show

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you round in consideration of a fee. It is better to apply at once to this functionary, as the guides who proffer their services are obliged to satisfy him, and, of course, make a profit over the transaction. The ciceroni who waylay strangers at the entrances to the public buildings of Granada are of little assistance to



The Chapel Royal

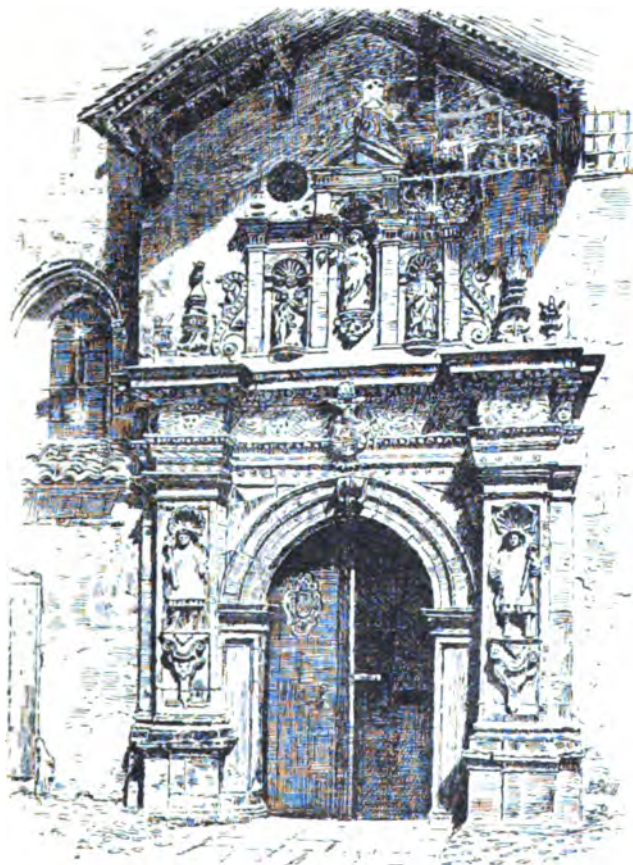
the visitor. They cannot express themselves intelligibly in any language but their own, and they are in so great a hurry to earn their money that they leave you no time for a careful examination. Therefore either dispense with a guide altogether—which is better—or hire one through the hotel-keeper. If you visit the Cathedral and the adjacent chapels

often, however, it may be worth your while to hire a local guide on the first occasion, as you will then be left unmolested and unbothered on subsequent visits.

The Chapel Royal is the most solemn and interesting memorial of the conquest of Granada. The Alhambra attests how great were the conquered, in this mausoleum repose the conquerors. Even as Kellerman, dying a duke and marshal of France, directed that his heart should be buried on the field of Valmy, where he had foiled the foes of France, so of all other spots in their wide empire, Ferdinand and Isabel chose this to be the place of their interment. The soldier's love for the place where he has earned his laurels is often as deep and as tender as a lover's for his mistress. The chapel, containing as it does the ashes of Spain's greatest rulers, is one of the three or four most interesting buildings in the whole monarchy. The foundation was laid by the Catholic Sovereigns on September 13, 1504, about two months before the queen's death. The work was seriously begun in the year following (1505), under the direction of Enrique de Egas, and completed the year after Ferdinand's death in 1517. Later, it was enlarged by Charles V., who declared it "too small for so much glory." It is one of the latest Gothic structures in Spain, and yet one in which the Gothic character is in some indefinable way most pronounced. The



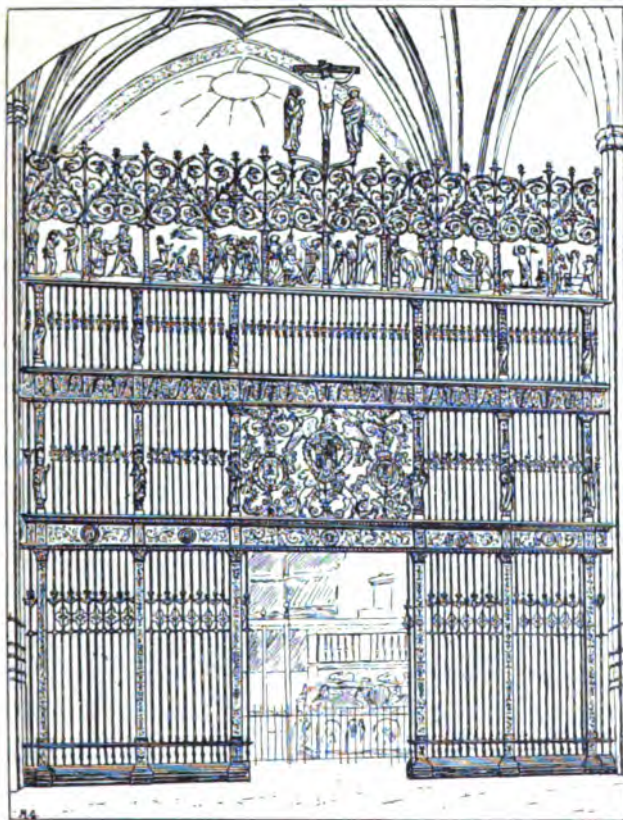
ALTAR-PIECE IN THE ROYAL CHAPEL. BY F. DE BARGOÑA



Entrance to the Chapel Royal

exterior is very simple ; the decoration mainly consists of two highly ornate balustrades surmounting each of the two stages. The lower one displays the monograms F and Y, interwoven with scroll and floral work. The windows are ogival. Over one, interrupting the lower balustrade, appears the escutcheon of Castile and Aragon, flanked by the emblems of the founders, the yoke and the sheaf of arrows. The portal, designed by De Pradas, is composed of an arch flanked by two pillars on which are sculptured the figures of kings-at-arms. Above is the imperial eagle and shield, with cherubim to right and left ; and above this again, beneath an ugly projecting roof, three niches, one of which enshrines a statue of the Virgin. In front of this portal stood the fountain of the mosque.

We enter the chapel. It is bright and airy, more so than the grey exterior would seem to promise. The plan is that of a Latin cross, the ceiling simply vaulted, the decoration mainly confined to a frieze bearing a long inscription in beautiful gilt letters, which reads : " This chapel was built at the command of the most Catholic Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabel, King and Queen of the Spains, Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem ; they conquered this kingdom and implanted in it our faith. They acquired the isles of the Canaries and the Indies, and the towns of Oran,

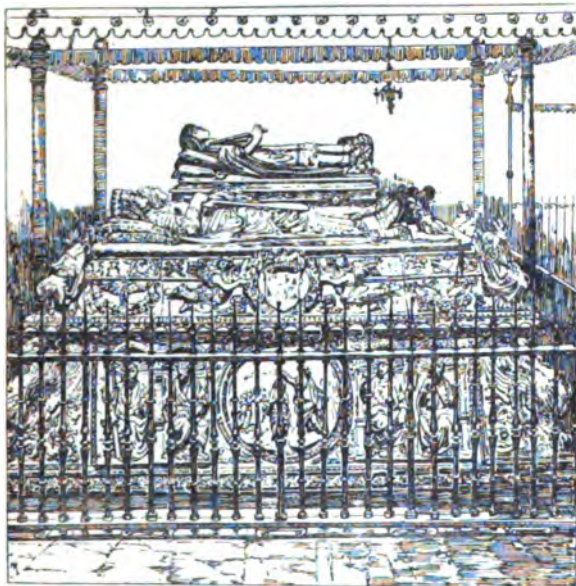


Screen in the Chapel Royal

Tripoli, and Bugia, they destroyed heresy, expelled the Moors and Jews from these kingdoms, and reformed the religious orders. The Queen died on Tuesday, 26th of November, in the year 1504. The King died on Wednesday, 23rd of January, 1516. This work was completed in the year 1517." The short nave is separated from the transept by a magnificent reja, or grille of gilt iron, executed by Maestre Bartolomé, of Jaen, in 1522. Between this and the altar, railed in, are the two gorgeous Renaissance cenotaphs of Ferdinand and Isabel and their successors, Philip I. and Joanna. The former is the work of a Florentine, Domenico Fancelli. The faces of the two sovereigns, who lie side by side, express infinite repose and dignity. Ferdinand is in full armour, and wears the insignia of the Order of St. George; Isabel, that of Santiago. Both are crowned, and at their feet crouch lions. At each corner of the tomb is seated a Doctor of the Church, below whom is a winged monster. On each side are medallions representing respectively the Baptism and Resurrection of Jesus, St. George, and St. James. Between these in niches are the figures of the Twelve Apostles. Over the medallions are escutcheons supported by angels. All these details are exquisitely done, yet the monument as a whole is unimpressive, grandiose rather than grand.

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The same may be said of the adjacent tomb, where the same skill is not observable in the design and execution. The faces of the recumbent figures of



Sepulchres of the Catholic Sovereigns, and of Doña Juana and Philip I.

Isabel's daughter, Joanna the Mad and her husband, Philip I., the Handsome, are not portraits. At the corners of the slab appear the statues of Saints Michael, George, Andrew, and John the Divine. Between these are escutcheons upheld by nymphs, and reliefs of scenes from the New Testament. The

lower part of the monument is adorned with medallions representing the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, the

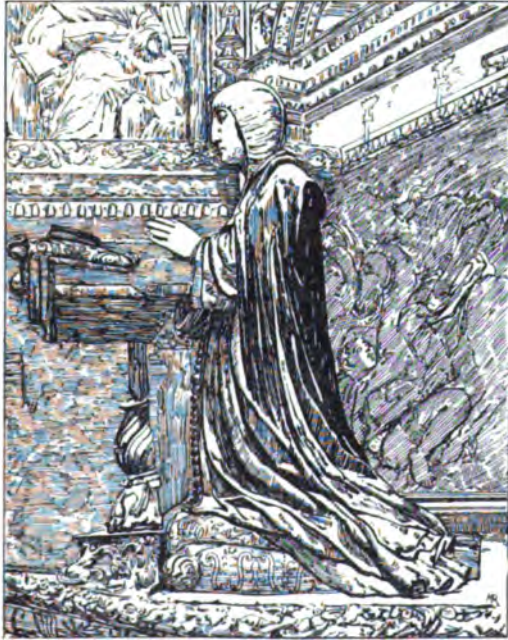


Chapel Royal. Statue of King Ferdinand the Catholic

Agony in the Garden, and the Entombment. The introduction of satyrs, nymphs, and other Pagan creations into a generally Christian scheme of decoration, is thoroughly in the spirit of the Renaissance. The figures of children and much of the heraldic

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decoration are beautiful. The whole is in the most florid style of the period, and was designed at Genoa,



Chapel Royal. Statue of Queen Isabella

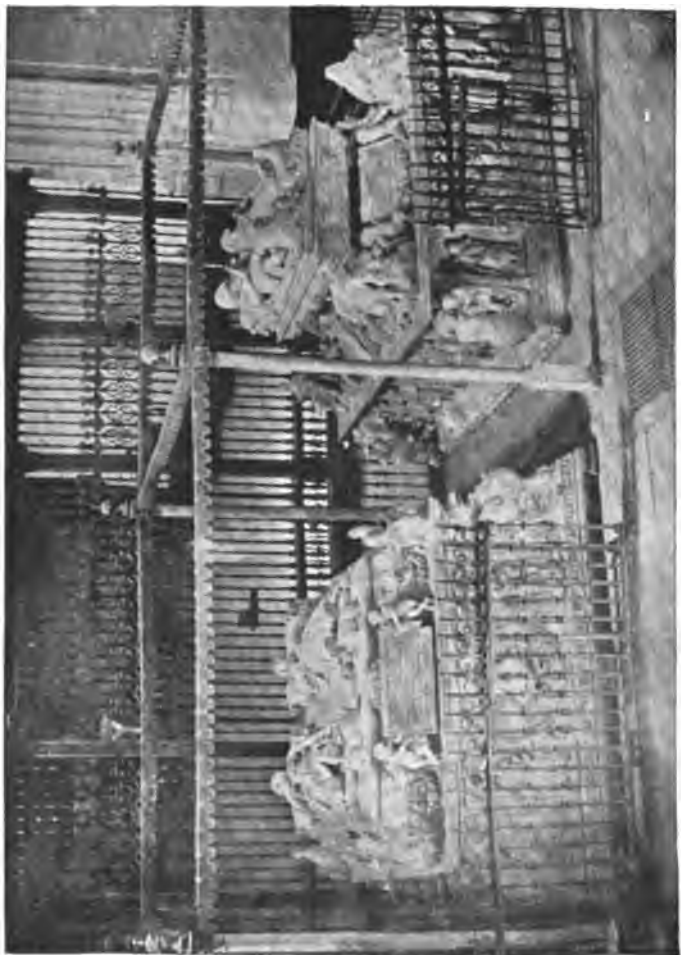
it is said, by command of Charles V. The sculptor was Bartolomé Ordoñez.

More vigorous and consonant with the Gothic character of the architecture are the altar and chancel with their fine kneeling statues of the Catholic Sove-

reigns, believed to be faithful portraits. The reliefs on the reredos on painted wood, are the work of Philip Vigarní. "They are certainly," says Ford, "of the highest antiquarian interest. In that which illustrates the surrender of the Alhambra, Isabel is represented riding on a white palfrey between Ferdinand and the great Cardinal Mendoza, who sits on his trapped mule, like Wolsey. He alone wears gloves; his pinched aquiline face contrasts with the chubbiness of the king and queen. He opens his hand to receive the key, which the dismounted Boabdil presents, holding it by the wards. Behind are ladies, knights, and halberdiers, while captives come out of the gates in pairs. Few things of the kind in Spain are more interesting. The other basso-relievo records the 'Conversion of the Infidel'; in it the reluctant flock is represented as undergoing the ceremony of wholesale baptism, the principal actors being shorn monks. The mufflers and leg-wrappers of the women—the Roman *fasciæ*—are precisely those still worn at Tetuan by their descendants."

The converts, it should be added, are being baptized by means of a syringe—an undignified method.

Between the cenotaphs and the altar is the narrow entrance to the royal vault, reached by a flight of steps. By the aid of the lighted taper the sacristan thrusts forward, you are able to distinguish five rude



TOMBS OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, DOÑA JUANA AND PHILIP THE HANDSOME

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coffins with iron bands. Herein are contained the remains of Ferdinand—distinguished by the letter F—of Isabel, of Philip and Joanna, and of the infant Prince Miguel, the child who was to have united Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. Philip's coffin is that which his lovesick wife carried about with her and had to be parted from by force. We look into this gloomy tenement of the illustrious dead with awe and not without reverence. For the Spaniard the vault is a veritable Holy of Holies. "Here," writes Pi Margall, "lie together in the dim light fathers and sons, monarchs of three dynasties united in less than a century for the greater glory of the fatherland; here lie the last princes of the Mediæval Age, and those who at its close inaugurated the Modern Era. Here they lie—heroes and fathers of heroes—kings who never retreated before the face of danger, and queens whose lives were consumed in the fire of profound love; fortunate ones who, returning from the battle, found rest and refreshment in the arms of their beloved; and unhappy souls who drained the cup of suffering without finding in the dregs even that lethargy which the excess of grief procures for some. Who can enter this murky precinct without feeling his heart swayed by contrary emotions—without inclining with reverence before the lead which covers the men who rescued the nations from the anarchy

of feudalism? While a tear may drop on the bier of that great princess [Isabella], who can restrain his pity for that unhappy queen [Juana] who, intoxicated with love, passed the night at the foot of a draw-



The Chapel Royal. Statue of Isabella
the Catholic

bridge, waiting for the dawn to break that she might go forth, alone, to the ends of the world, in search of her adored husband, and would not leave his coffin till the tomb had closed upon it?"

De mortuis nil nisi bonum — least of all before their coffins. Fresh from the pages of Prescott and Ford, the pilgrim may be inclined to bow before

the ashes of the Catholic Sovereigns as before the shrine of two canonised saints. Less partial and more critical historians have dispelled much of the glamour that obscured the fine characters of those that lie here. Let us bow, if you will, before an ability, a tenacity of purpose, a genius for statecraft and organisation that the ablest sovereigns might have envied; but



Exterior of the Royal Chapel.

reserve your sympathy for the Catholic Sovereigns' luckless and persecuted daughter. The state does well to honour Ferdinand and Isabel; humanity turns coldly aside from their tombs, and bestows its compassion on Joanna the Mad.

Great and weak, stony-hearted and tender, we leave these royal ones of Spain to pass away to nothingness in their last dark palace, and ascend to the chapel. There is not much more to see. Ingress to the Cathedral is obtained through a superb portal in the Late Gothic style.

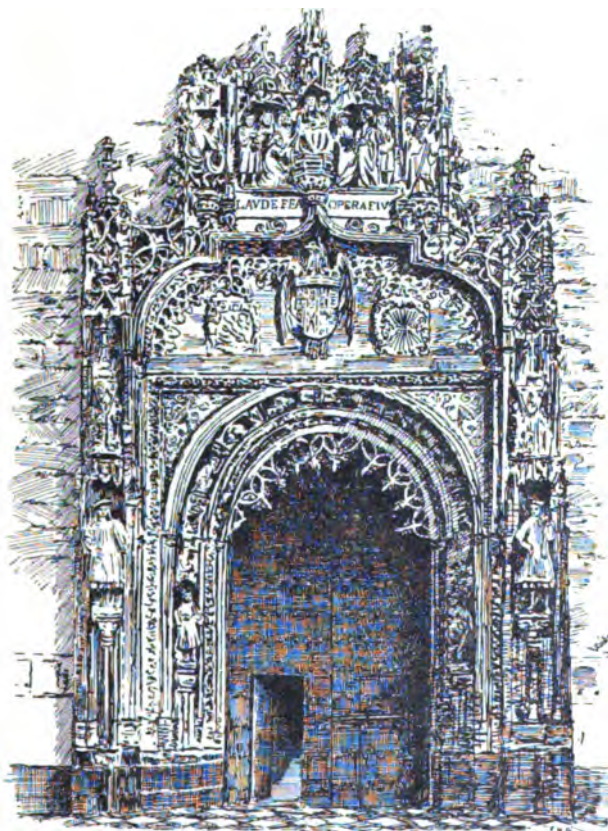
Above the inscribed arches is a very beautiful relief of saints venerating the Virgin—one of the best works of the kind in Spain. The pillars on each side are adorned with the figures of heralds. Escutcheons, religious emblems, and saints and cherubim are gracefully mingled in the not over-elaborate decoration. Another arch communicates with the Sagrario.



Sceptre, Crown, Sword, Mace-book, and Coffre of the Catholic Sovereigns

The sacristan will show you the treasury of the chapel. In a glass case are preserved Isabel's crown, her sceptre, and mirror. You may also see Ferdinand's sword: the hilt has a spherical pommel and drooping quillons, with branches towards the blade, which is grooved for two-thirds of its length. Isabella's missal, beautifully illuminated by Francisco Florez, is used in the celebration of mass on the anniversary of the reconquest. You may gaze on the vestments embroidered by the queen, and the standard, worked by her, that floated over the fallen city. Most interesting, in a sense, of all is the casket in which, it is averred, were placed the jewels that were pawned by the queen to procure funds for Columbus's first voyage of discovery. What was Pandora's box compared to this!

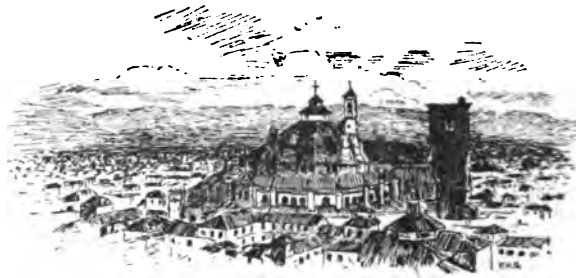
The Chapel Royal was founded before the adjoining Cathedral, and has always preserved its ecclesiastical independence. Between its chapter and that of the Cathedral there has never been much love lost. The royal chaplains had the right of passage, as it suited them, across the Cathedral transept to the Puerta del Perdon, a privilege which the canons deeply resented. My trusted authority, Don Francisco de P. Valladar, relates that on one occasion when the Archbishop Carrillo de Alderete visited the chapel, his attendant clergy were refused admittance. Thereupon the irate



Cathedral. Interior Doorway of the Chapel Royal

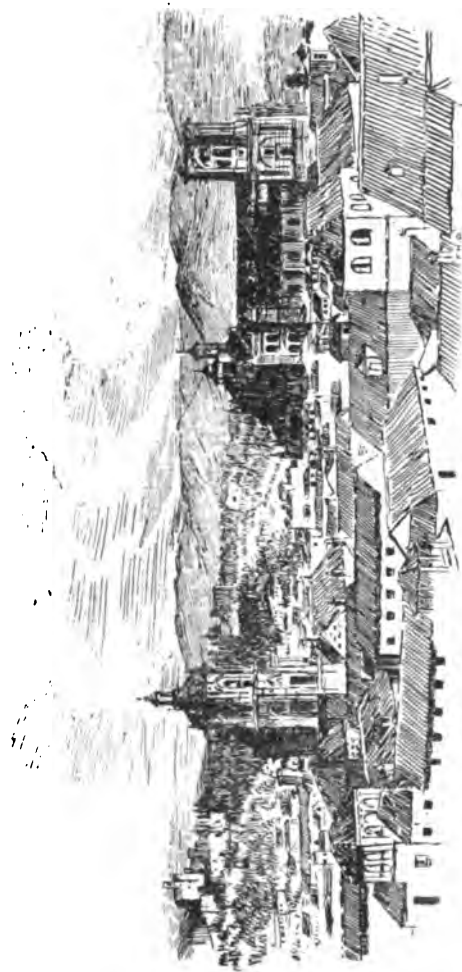
prelate placed the chaplains under arrest. An interminable lawsuit was the result; a squabble which would have delighted Boileau, and which comes as a sort of anti-climax to the stirring story of which the Chapel Royal is the culmination.

The Cathedral of Granada, dedicated to Santa Maria de la Encarnacion, was built adjoining and



Cathedral of Granada

connecting with the Chapel Royal and Sagrario, between the years 1523 and 1703. The original plans, by Enrique de Egas, were according to the Gothic style, which Charles V. is said to have preferred, but with his consent the direction of the work was transferred in 1525 to Diego de Siloe. As a result we have a church built in the Renaissance style on a purely Gothic plan. The consecration took place on August 17, 1561, two years before Siloe's death. The work was continued at long



View of the Cathedral and the Alhambra from San Gerónimo

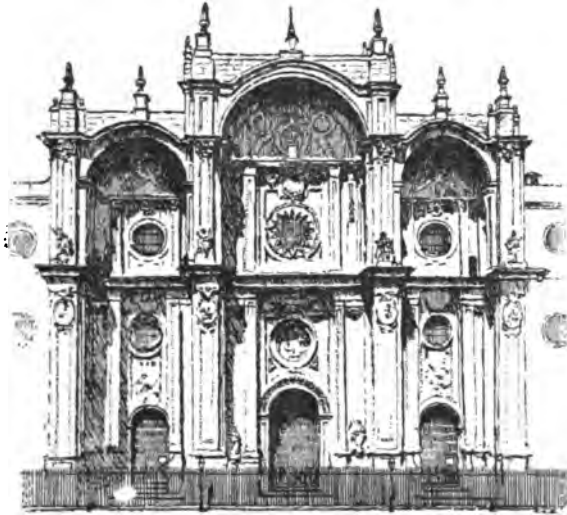
intervals by Maeda, Ambrosio de Vico, and Alonso Cano.

Fergusson thinks very highly of this cathedral. "Looking at its plan only, this is certainly one of the finest churches in Europe." "It contains arrangements which are not only novelties, but improvements upon anything done before; and such that if they had been fairly worked out, would have produced a church better fitted for the dignified performance of Roman Catholic rites than anything which we have yet seen." It is not to be denied that this is the finest Renaissance edifice in the kingdom, but it does not appear to me to deserve the description once applied to it, "the most magnificent temple in Europe after the Vatican."

The west front, which looks across the narrow Plaza de las Pasiegas at the archbishop's palace, is hardly pleasing in effect. The northern corner is formed by a massive tower, the lowest stage of which was built about 1568 by Maeda, the upper portions by Ambrosio de Vico towards the end of the sixteenth century. The three storeys are in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders respectively. The tower, intended to reach a height of 265 feet, has never risen above 185. The lower stage of the façade, designed by Alonso Cano about 1667, is divided by huge stone columns which support a cornice. On this rest

THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND CATHEDRAL 245

three gigantic arches, the middle one rising above the others. On the cornice stand statues of four Apostles. The reliefs above the three doors represent the Incarnation (by Risueño), Annunciation, and Assump-



The Cathedral

tion. The subjects of the stained glass in the windows in the arched recesses are Saint Cecilius (a reputed local martyr), Saint Pedro Pascual, and other saints.

The south front is covered by the Sagrario and Chapel Royal, and the east front shut in by adjacent buildings. In the north front is the beautiful Puerta del Perdon, the official entrance to the Chapel Royal.

This is a beautiful and elaborately sculptured work, Diego de Siloe's masterpiece. It is in two stages, the lower being pierced by a rounded archway, over which is a tablet to the memory of the Catholic Kings, upheld by two allegorical figures. On the flanking buttresses are large escutcheons. The upper stage has several niches for statues, which are likely to remain empty for many years to come. The figures of the Eternal Father, Moses, and David are very fine. Altogether, this portal may be considered a triumph of the plateresque or Spanish Renaissance school.

The interior of the Cathedral is undeniably grand and awe-inspiring. It does not produce, it is true, those sentiments of reverence, of sympathy with bygone ages, of profound calm such as we experience in the older church of Seville. We have no desire to linger here, to sit and muse for hours together as we do in the old Gothic cathedrals. To me this church appeared as a magnificent palace, to be visited, admired, criticised. Perhaps these fugitive individual impressions are hardly worth recording, and the art of Siloe may call up emotions in some other traveller to whom the more sombre beauties of Seville and Toledo would appeal in vain.

The Cathedral consists of five naves, as the Spaniards say, or of a nave and double aisles, with a

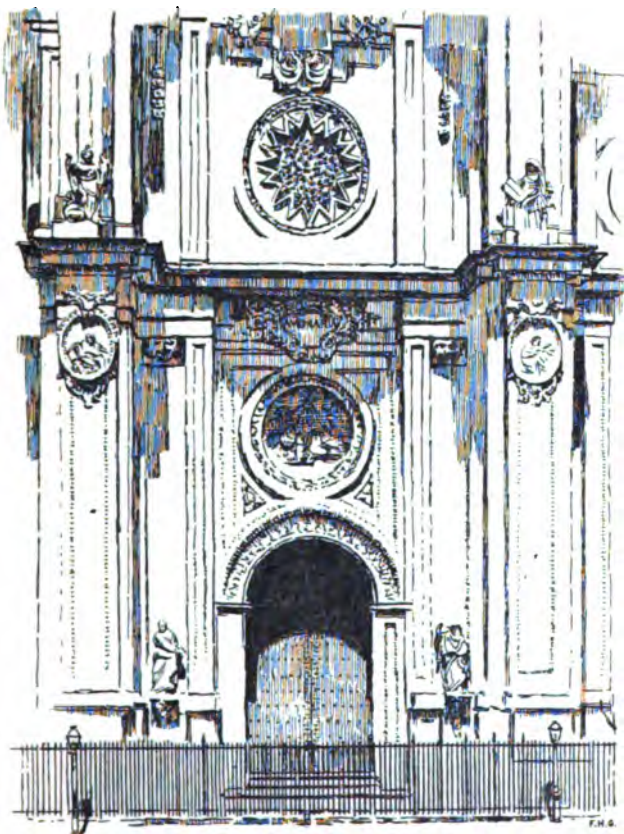
THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND CATHEDRAL 247



West Front of the Cathedral

cross-vaulting in the Gothic style, supported by piers, each of which is formed of four Corinthian pillars. From the black and white marble pavement to the vaulting it is 100 feet. The nave is blocked, as is always the case in Spain, by the choir. Over the chancel rises a superb dome 220 feet high, resting on eight Corinthian columns, and opening on to the nave by a lofty and beautiful arch. "The daring of this main arch is admirable," says Lafuente, "the way it is contrived creating a wonderful effect; looking at it from the elliptical arches it appears to be extended and on the point of falling away through having sunk below its level." Fergusson remarks that "the supports of this dome are so numerous and so distributed that it might as easily have been constructed 170 feet in diameter and of any height. No modern dome is, in fact, so constructively arranged; and as it was not proposed that there should be any thoroughfare under it, or that it should lead to anything beyond the number of points of supports which are introduced, and their being somewhat crowded, is a beauty rather than a defect."

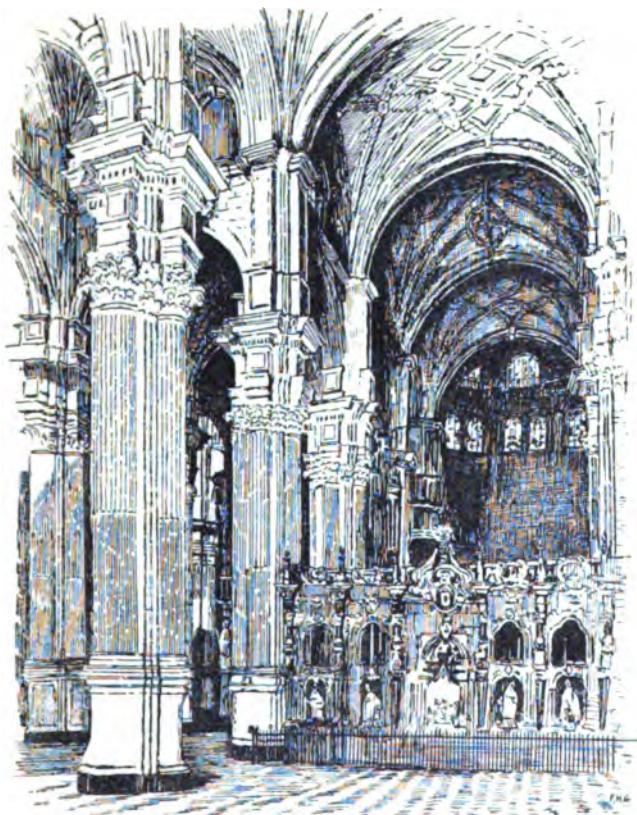
The chancel, or Capilla Mayor, thus magnificently roofed, is insulated by an ambulatory which is the prolongation of the two outer aisles. The beautiful stained glass windows are by a Dutchman, Theodor de Holanda, who lived about 1550, and by Juan del



Main Entrance to the Cathedral

Campo, who flourished about the same time. Below these are seven admirable paintings of scenes from the life of the Virgin by the great Andalusian painter, Alonso Cano. The works of Bocanegra and other pupils of this master are placed lower down. Against the columns supporting the elliptical arches referred to, and between which the chancel can be seen at all points from the ambulatory, are placed colossal statues of the Apostles in bronze-gilt—the work mostly of Martin de Aranda (1614). Among Alonso Cano's best work are the great heads of Adam and Eve carved above the pulpits at the entrance to the chancel. The high altar itself, the work of José de Bada, is in a depraved style with a tabernacle in the form of a temple. The kneeling figures of the Catholic Sovereigns are by Mena and Madroso, seventeenth-century sculptors.

In the centre of the nave, separated from the Capilla Mayor by the transept, is the choir, in the debased Churrigueresque style, of which every one speaks ill. The only things of value it contains are a crucifix by Pablo de Rojas and two fine organs by Dávila. The *trascoro*, or back of the choir, is richly decorated with reddish marbles, and with statues of prelates. The choir marks the site of the tower of the old mosque, destroyed in 1588. Within it are buried the heroine Mariana



Cathedral. The Trascoro

Pineda, and Alonso Cano, who was a prebendary of this cathedral.

One of this master's most characteristic paintings—the Virgen de la Soledad—is to be seen over the altar of San Miguel, in the first chapel to the right on entering the church. Stolen in 1873, it was recovered shortly after in the city. It is said to be the copy of a famous statue by Becerra. The chapel was built in 1807, and adorned with red marbles and serpentine, by a high-minded, munificent prelate, Archbishop Moscoso. His tomb is by the sculptor Folch. In the chapel are placed—why, no one knows—two elegant Chinese vases.

Passing the entrance to the Sagrario, we notice a small picture before which the big-hearted saint, Juan de Dios, was accustomed to pray. In the Chapel of the Trinity are good paintings by Cano, including a Trinity and two miniatures on copper, a Death of St. Joseph by Maratta, and copies of works by Raphael and Ribera. It is difficult to get a good view of the paintings in this cathedral, as the light at most times of the day in the chapels is bad. The extravagant eighteenth-century chapel of Jesus Nazareno is rich in works of art. Here we find three genuine Riberas—the Child Jesus, St. Lawrence, and the Magdalene—a St. Francis by El Greco, and a Way of the Cross by Cano. We pass the grand Gothic

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entrance to the Chapel Royal, with its heraldic achievements, by Enrique de Egas, and pause before the Chapel of Santiago. The patron saint of Spain is dressed as a typical Spanish warrior, and is slaughtering Moors without mercy. The statue was



The Cathedral. Puerta del Perdon

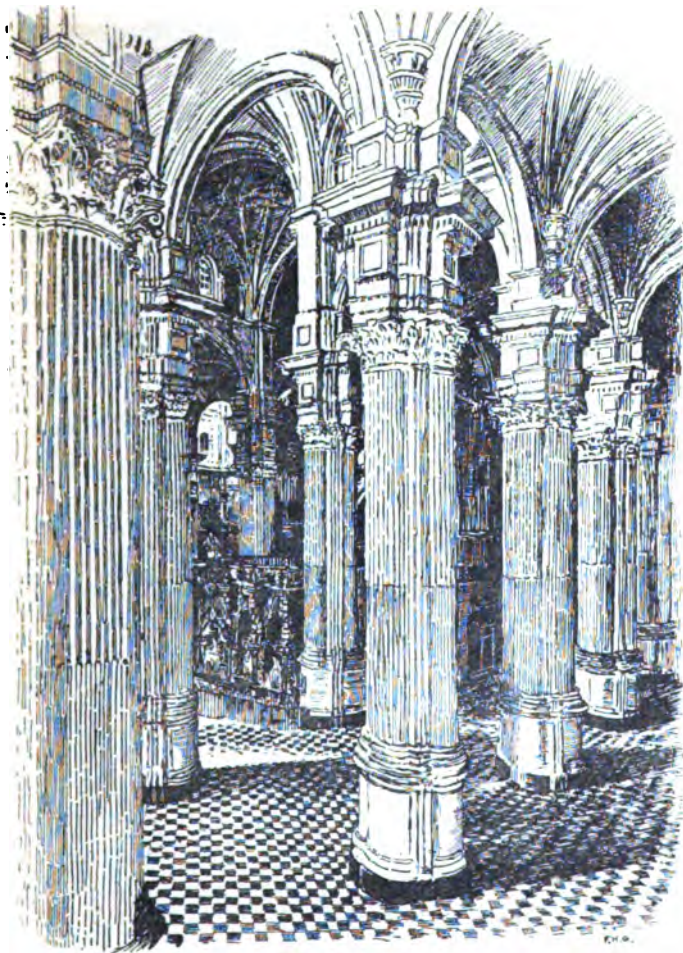
presented to the chapter by the city in 1640. It was executed by Mena. The picture of the Virgen del Perdon was given by Innocent VIII. to Isabel the Catholic, and carried about by her. It hung over the altar of the converted mosque when the first mass was celebrated in Granada. It is publicly venerated on the anniversary of the reconquest.

In the ambulatory, beyond the entrance to the

sacristy, is the Puerta del Colegio. Behind the sculptured Ecce Homo, it is averred that Maeda carved a Lucifer of extraordinary beauty. The story goes that having asked Siloe to let him give some proof of his skill, he was told by the testy architect that he might sculpture the Devil himself if he wanted to. Maeda was wag enough to take him at his word.

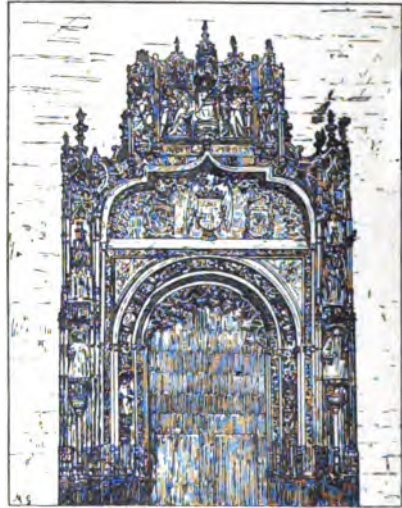
The best view of the Cathedral is obtainable just before reaching this point, or from the corresponding point in the north aisle. The Chapel of Saint Anne in the ambulatory was intended as a mausoleum for the archbishops. It contains a good sixteenth-century altar-piece, and a painting of the Aquitanian saint, Jean de Matha, one of the founders of the Trinitarian Order, by Bocanegra. The other chapels in the ambulatory possess little interest, except for the view they afford of the chancel and its dome. The last chapel before emerging into the aisle is dedicated to La Virgen de la Antigua, after a Gothic image, said to have been found between Segovia and Avila, and looked upon with much veneration by Ferdinand the Catholic. The portraits of the Catholic Sovereigns at prayer are by Juan de Sevilla. They are in the Venetian style. The reredos by Pedro Duque Cornejo (1718) is tasteless.

We cross the transept, and in the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Carmen in the north aisle, find two



In the Cathedral

heads : a St. John, and a St. Paul by Cano, reflecting the fondness of his contemporaries for the morbid. The last chapel in the north aisle, containing the font, was erected by Adan and Azevedo at the



Gothic Doorway in the Sagrario

expense of Archbishop Galván who is buried here near another occupant of the archiepiscopal throne, Don Bienvenido Monzón (died 1885). The fine reliefs of Saints Jerome and Isidore are by Mora. The pictures over the three entrance doors represent mystical allegories. In the north tower is the studio or *obrador* of Alonso Cano. It contains also the



**THE CATHEDRAL. GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHANCEL
AND HIGH ALTAR**

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Chapter Room (Sala Capitular), approached through a noble porch, with figures of Justice and Prudence, which, with the group of the Trinity, may be safely attributed to Maeda.

The eighteenth-century sacristy does not possess the interest of the treasury of the Chapel Royal. In



Plaza del Triunfo

it, however, may be seen the Annunciation by Cano and two small statues by him ; a crucifix by Montañéz ; a Holy Family by Juan de Sevilla ; and a Mary Immaculate by Bocanegra. The Custodia, five feet high, used in the Corpus Christi processions, was presented by Isabel the Catholic. The signet ring of Pope Sixtus III. is also preserved here.

By the door next to the Chapel of St. Michael, from the Plaza de las Pasiegas, or from the Chapel

R

Royal, we may enter the Sagrario or Parish Church, a meretricious, Churrigueresque structure which was designed in 1705 by Francisco Hurtado and José de Bada. It is 100 feet square, and corresponds in site exactly to the old mosque. In a dark chapel in the north-east corner lies "the magnificent cavalier, Fernando del Pulgar, Lord of El Salar," as the inscription records. This valiant knight and true, during the last campaign against Granada, rode into the city with fifteen horsemen, and set a lighted taper on the floor of the mosque, and, as others say, nailed a paper bearing the Ave Maria on the door. This exploit earned for him and his descendants the extremely valuable privilege of wearing their hats in the Cathedral. Del Pulgar's bones have fared better than those of the good Archbishop de Talavera, which were scattered when the old mosque was demolished. The Sagrario possesses several good paintings, including a San José by Cano, of whose works the Cathedral buildings, as may have been noticed, contain a fine selection. By the door next to the Capilla del Pulgar, and a darkish passage, the Chapel Royal may be entered.

At the back of the Sagrario, and at right angles to the Chapel Royal, is a graceful little building in the plateresque style. This is the Lonja or Exchange, built by Juan Garcia de Pradas about 1520. I do

THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND CATHEDRAL 259

not know to what use it is now put, but like the more famous Lonja of Seville, it has long been deserted by the brokers and merchants for whom it was designed. Our own Royal Exchange attests the reluctance of these gentry to swarm in the particular hive allotted to them by a paternal government.

Opposite the Cathedral is the uninteresting Archbishop's Palace. Readers of *Gil Blas* will be rather amused on recalling Le Sage's description of this as a residence good enough for any king. Le Sage, of course, knew as much about Granada as Shakespeare did of Venice.

CHAPTER V.

SAN GERONIMO—SAN JUAN DE DIOS—THE CARTUJA

FROM the Puerta Real the Calle de Mesones and its continuation, the Calle de la Duquesa, lead westwards to the church of San Geronimo, the oldest purely Christian foundation in Granada. The monastery of the Hermits of St. Jerome, to whom the church belonged, was founded at Santa Fé by Ferdinand and Isabel in 1492, and was transferred here immediately after the reconquest. The monastery was famed for its school of music, and produced many eminent musicians. The monks have long since been dispersed, and their old home is now a cavalry barracks. The church, built by Diego de Siloe, is dedicated to the memory of Spain's greatest soldier, the Great Captain, Gonzalo de Cordova, who died at Granada on December 2, 1515, less than two months before his ungrateful master Ferdinand. The urchins, ever on the look-out for strangers, will show you the door in the garden wall, at which presently, in response to your ring, a caretaker will appear. You are shown into the church. It is in the usual form of a Latin

SAN GERONIMO—SAN JUAN DE DIOS 261

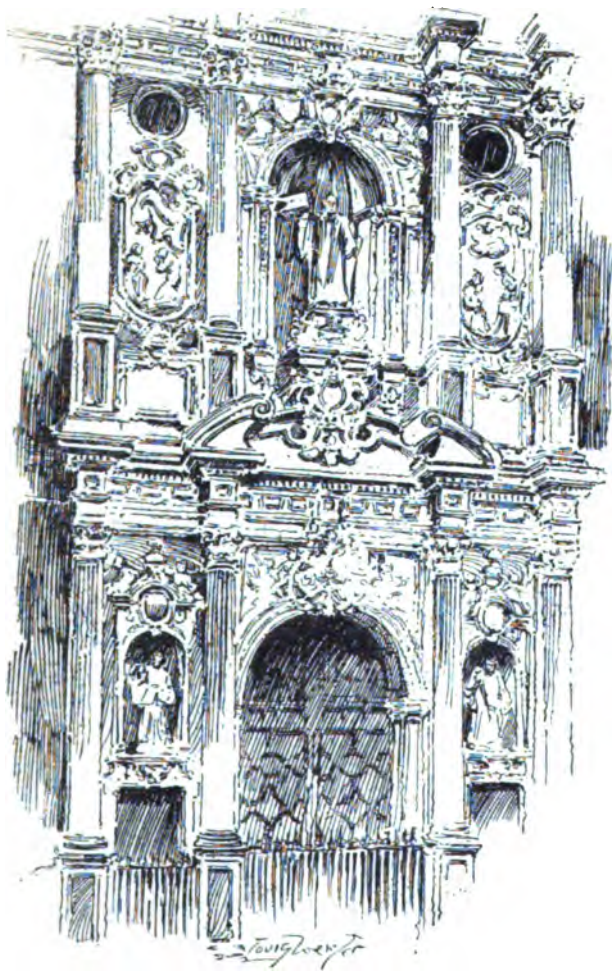
cross, plain, stern, dignified. Mass is no longer celebrated here, or on very rare occasions. The walls are adorned with frescoes representing scenes from the Passion, portraits of Fathers of the Church, and angels



Hospital of San Juan de Dios

playing on the harp and singing. On one is inscribed the painter's name, Juan de Medina, and the date 1723. The choir is placed in a gallery at the end of the church, and contains some stalls carved by Siloe. The high altar is one of that master's finest works. Valladar says that he realised in its construction "his

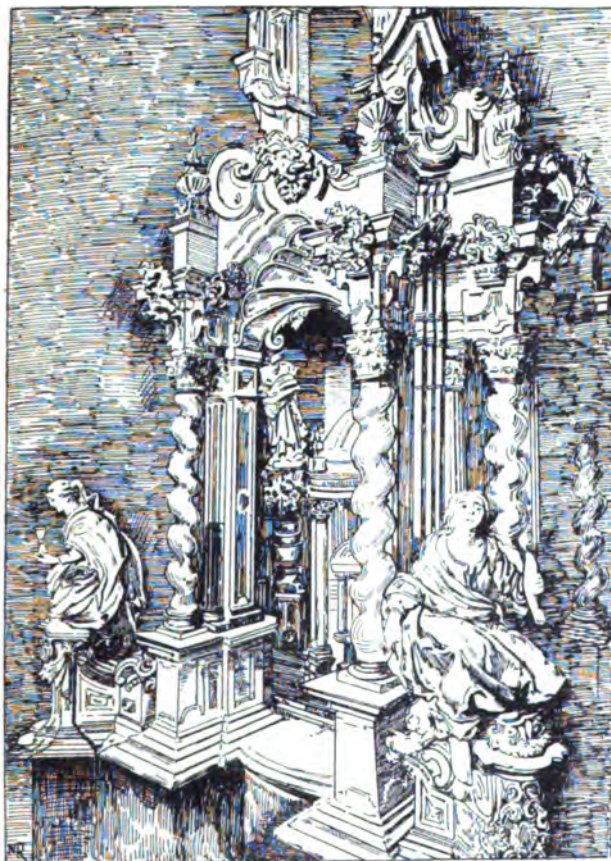
lofty ideal of effecting a truly Spanish Renaissance ; an ideal which bore little fruit, since some of his followers confined themselves to the strictest classicism, others to the development of the plateresque. The elements employed by Siloe are pilasters, arcades, and columns in the Classic styles ; ogival vaults and Grecian and Roman ornaments with a certain suggestion of the Oriental." The domed roof is decorated with statues of Cæsar, Pompey, Hannibal, Marcellus, Marcus Tullius, Homer, Marius, and Scipio, in allusion to the military qualities of the Great Captain ; and of Abigail, Judith, Deborah, Esther, Penelope, Alcestis, and other heroic women of antiquity, whose virtues were inherited by his lady. This admiration for the worthies of the ancient world and their introduction into a Christian temple is difficult to understand on the part of those who exhibited the most fanatical hatred against all contemporary non-Catholics. Behind the altar—the work of Juan de Aragón and Lázaro de Velasco—rises the magnificent reredos, divided into numerous compartments or niches filled with statues and reliefs. These are arranged in four stages in the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite orders respectively. The lowest central compartment is occupied by the tabernacle, the subject of the three compartments above it being the Immaculate Conception, St. Jerome, and the Crucifixion. Over all



Portal of the Church of San Juan de Dios

presides the striking figure of the Eternal Father. This magnificent work, the best of the kind in Spain, was executed by several artists, among them Juan de Aragón, Pedro de Orea, and Juan de Raxis. Figures of the Apostles, of the Saints Barbara, Katharine, Magdalene, and Lucia, George, Eustace, Sebastian, Martin, and Francis, adorn the beautiful shell-like vault. On either side of the high altar are seen kneeling figures of the Great Captain and his wife. Their tomb was formerly here, but their ashes have now been transported to Madrid. The sepulchre was once surrounded by seven hundred flags taken from the enemy. At the ends of the transepts are statues of the Great Captain's four loyal companions and brothers-in-arms. In one of the side chapels is a notable Entombment, believed to be by Becerra. The frescoes in the choir, representing the Triumph of the Church, of the Virgin, and of the Eucharist, &c., are worthy of note. Yet the whole fabric has a neglected and decayed air. It has never recovered from the damage done by the French in 1810, when De Cordova's sword and armour were carried off, his tomb profaned, and all the brass-work, rejas, &c., stolen.

Spain has not produced many commanders of the first rank, and the memory of Gonzalo de Cordova is naturally kept green. He won his spurs at the Conquest of Granada, and then, as we have seen, was



The Cartuja. Sanctum Sanctorum

successfully employed against the revolted Moors. In company with the Venetians, he drove the Turks from



The Cartuja. San Bruno by Alonso Cano

Kephálonia, and in a series of brilliant campaigns reduced the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to an appanage of the crown of Aragon. He overcame opponents not less formidable than Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. He laid the foundations of his country's military strength, which endured for a hundred and fifty years. De Cordova was, for his age, a humane and honourable man, and ill deserved the neglect and jealousy to which his sovereign subjected him in later years. Above

the main entrance to the church is displayed the hero's coat-of-arms with the inscription: *Gonsalo Ferdinando a Cordoba magno Hispanorum duci, Gallorum ac Turcarum Terrori.*



ALTAR OF THE CHURCH OF SAN GERÓNIMO

SAN GERONIMO—SAN JUAN DE DIOS 267

On leaving this church and turning to the left, we reach in a few strides a monument to a hero of a very different sort. Juan de Robles was a Portuguese, who, during his stay in Granada from 1536 to 1550, devoted himself to the sick and suffering with a zeal which men mistook for insanity. Yet he succeeded in obtaining the Pope's sanction for the Order of Hospitallers which he founded. His merits were recognised after his death (compare the treatment of Columbus, Cortes, and Gonzalo de Cordova), and he was canonised under the style of St. John of God in 1669. We pass the large hospital founded two years after his death, that is, in 1552. We may enter the church, built in the mid-eighteenth century, in an abominable style. Few interiors are more gorgeous or in worse taste. Here, as in other churches in Spain, prudery has been carried so far as to drape the figure of Christ Crucified in petticoats. The saint's remains are contained in an ugly and costly silver casket. The cage in which he was confined when "mad" is also shown.



St. Mary Magdalene. Sculpture by
Alonso Cano in the Cartuja

His portrait is merely a copy of another at Madrid. Some paintings by Bocanegra that might have redeemed the ugliness of the church are hidden in the sacristy.

The street in which this church is situated leads us to the Plaza del Triunfo, which extends from the Bull Ring to the Puerta Elvira. It is an uninviting space with sinister memories. The old Moorish cemetery was here ; and behind the Bull Ring is a white cross, marking the spot where the remains of royal personages on their way to the Chapel Royal were identified by the authorities. A not very well authenticated tradition affirms that here took place the "conversion" of the Duke of Gandia. On opening the coffin containing the corpse of the Empress Isabel, the duke was so impressed by the unpleasant evidences of mortality that he vowed he would never more serve an earthly master and would devote himself to religion. We may be permitted, perhaps, to suggest that the duke's mind must have been singularly ill-balanced that so deep an impression should have been made upon him by so ordinary and well-known a process of nature. Later on we hear of him praying that his wife might die if it were for his own soul's good. In course of time, the holy duke underwent the same process which had so disgusted him in the case of his sovereign, and was duly

canonised as St. Francis Borgia. He was, of course, a member of the illustrious family which produced Alexander III. and his children, Lucrezia and Cæsar.

A simple column surmounted by an iron cross marks the spot where Doña Mariana Pineda (as the inscription records) was executed by the garrotte on May 26, 1831, at the age of thirty-one. Those were the days when Spaniards were shouting "Long live our chains!" and frenziedly demanding an absolute monarchy and the suppression of their own liberties.

There are people of that sort in every country, not least of all our own, but in Spain they happened just then to be in the majority. Mariana's house was known to be a place of meeting for the Liberals. The police burst in and discovered a tri-colour flag. For this "crime" she was put to death, meeting her fate with a courage worthy of her cause. Five years later, when the nation had recovered its sanity, her body was carried in state to the Cathedral. The magistrate who had condemned her was in his turn executed. Here, too, seventy Spanish patriots



St. Joseph and the Child. Sculpture by Alonso Cano in the Cartuja

were remorselessly shot by the French. The Bull Ring is most appropriately placed near this aceldama. A monument of a more agreeable character is the column, surmounted by a statue by Alonso de Mena,



The Market and Gipsy Fair, and the Triunfo

raised to commemorate the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

The building adjacent to the Corrida de Toros is the Royal Hospital, founded by Isabel the Catholic in 1504, and built about 1512. It is now used mainly as a lunatic asylum. Insanity is uncommon here, as in most easy-going countries. The building seemed to me to present few features of interest, but some fine artesonado ceilings by De Pradas,

the builder of the gate of the Chapel Royal, and the cage in which St. John of God was confined, are to be seen, I understand, in the interior. The church of San Ildefonso, to the right of the infantry barracks, contains the font whereat Alonso Cano was baptized, and a record of the event in its parish register. Otherwise it is of little interest. Outside it, I witnessed the distribution of a sort of bouillon to a group of poor folk, but all were so intent on receiving their dole that I could get no satisfactory reply to my questions as to whether this was a long-established charity or a form of commonplace outdoor relief.

The road to the right of the Hospital leads to the turning by which you reach the Cartuja (Charterhouse). It is no great distance, but the way is so dusty and in summer so glaring that I advise all to undertake the journey by carriage. The monastery, built in 1516, on a site given by the Great Captain, was pulled down and suppressed in 1842. Some part of the fabric, however, remains, together with the



Head of John the Baptist

church, which is approached by a terrace and steps. The paving of this terrace is designed with the shapes of animals. Over the portal is a statue of St. Bruno, the founder of the Order. On entering you are first



Head of John the Baptist

shown the cloister, which is adorned with paintings by Cotán, depicting the butchery of Carthusian monks in London by Henry VIII.'s officers. I had always understood the tyrant disposed of these unfortunate monks by starving them to death, but it is possible that a few were reserved to make a Cockney's holiday.

A priest conducts you into the church (and, I may add, allows you little time for its examination). It is not easy to express an opinion as to the interior, for though undoubtedly in bad taste, its splendour is dazzling and the skill displayed in its decoration marvellous. It is rich and fantastic—undeniably fantastic—rather than ugly. I certainly cannot agree with those who describe the church as full of rubbish. The doors of the choir are exquisitely inlaid with ebony, cedar wood, mother-o'-pearl, and



INTERIOR OF THE CARTUJA CHURCH

tortoise-shell, the work of a friar, Manuel Vazquez, who died in 1765. The statue of St. Bruno is by Cano, and that of the Conception by his pupil Mora. Several pictures by Bocanegra, Giaquinto, and the lay-brother Cotán adorn the walls. Magnificence is carried to its most extravagant point in the sanctuary behind the high altar, where various coloured marbles are combined with startling effect. Some of the slabs are richly veined with agates, and the hand of Nature has traced some semblances of human and animal forms. In the adjoining sacristy, far exceeding the elaborately sculptured columns in beauty and interest, are the wonderfully inlaid doors and presses. These are certainly the finest works of their kind in the world. It is strange that so much genius for detail and so much costly material should withal have wrought so meretricious an edifice. The Cartuja, like the San Geronimo, was rifled of its greatest treasures by the French under Sebastiani, who exhibited the discrimination of dilettantes on their plundering expeditions.



Head of John the Baptist

On your way back to the Puerta Real (supposing that to have been your starting-point), you may glance at the University, a single College situated in a pretty Botanic Garden. It was founded in 1531, but the actual building dates only from the eighteenth century. The classes are poorly attended. Granada is not a literary town. I only discovered two book-sellers' shops in it, both in the Calle de Mesones. Scrappy newspapers and translations of French novels appear to provide the chief mental pabulum for the better class. While in this part of the town, enquire for the house wherein Her Majesty the Empress Eugénie was born. It is opposite the church of Santa Maria Magdalena, and bears a memorial tablet. In the same street (Calle Moret) dwelt Gongora, a Spanish poet not unknown outside his own country.



CARTUJA. THE VIRGIN OF THE ROSARY. BY MURILLO

CHAPTER VI

OLD HOUSES AND HISTORIC SITES

GRANADA, it must be confessed, is by no means as rich in ancient churches and houses as Seville. But the municipality evinces a praiseworthy zeal to keep alive the memory of illustrious townsmen. Behind the Post Office may be seen the Great Captain's house, now forming part of a convent of Discalced Carmelites. A tablet announces that "In this house lived, and on December 2nd, 1515, died, the Great Captain, Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Aguilar y de Cordoba, Duke of Sessa, Terranova, and Santangelo, the Christian hero, conqueror of the Moors, French, and Turks." In the Reyes Catolicos street another tablet marks the site of the house of one of Spain's few great naval commanders, Don Alvaro de Bazán, who was born at Granada in 1526 and died at Lisbon in 1588. Had he lived a few months longer, Drake and Howard might have had a very much harder task in dispersing the Invincible Armada. Mariana Pineda, the most interesting of local celebrities, lived at number 19 Calle de Aguila. You may see her statue on a column by

Marín and Morales in the centre of the square, once called the Campillo, and now named after her. This square has always been a favourite rendezvous for conspirators and agitators.

Not far off, and adjacent to the theatre, is a fine villa surrounded by gardens called the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo. I was unsuccessful in my endeavours to obtain admission. Incorporated with the villa is a Moorish tower, containing a hall which bears traces of decorative work earlier than any in the Alhambra. It is believed to date from the time of the Almohades, and later on to have been a palace of Boabdil's. The modern name is partly derived from



A Woman of Granada

the church of Santo Domingo, standing behind it. Although this church was founded in 1512, its style is that of the late seventeenth century. Some frescoes over the door are almost defaced. To the left is an exceedingly picturesque little archway—just the spot for a bravo to linger, stiletto in hand.

This quarter of the town is called Antequeruela, or little Antequera, because it was peopled by the inhabitants of that town when it fell into the hands

of the Christians. The Jewish quarter was also hereabouts. The church of San Cecilio is raised on the site of the mosque. It is in the Mudejar style. Close to it tradition avers that there existed a Christian oratory during the whole period of Mussulman rule.

The Casa de los Tiros is the property of the Marquis of Campotejar, and here you must apply for permits to view the Generalife. Built in the early sixteenth century, it occupies the site and incorporates the remains of a Moorish fortified dwelling. It was possibly an advance work of the Vermilion Towers, or a *point d'appui* in the



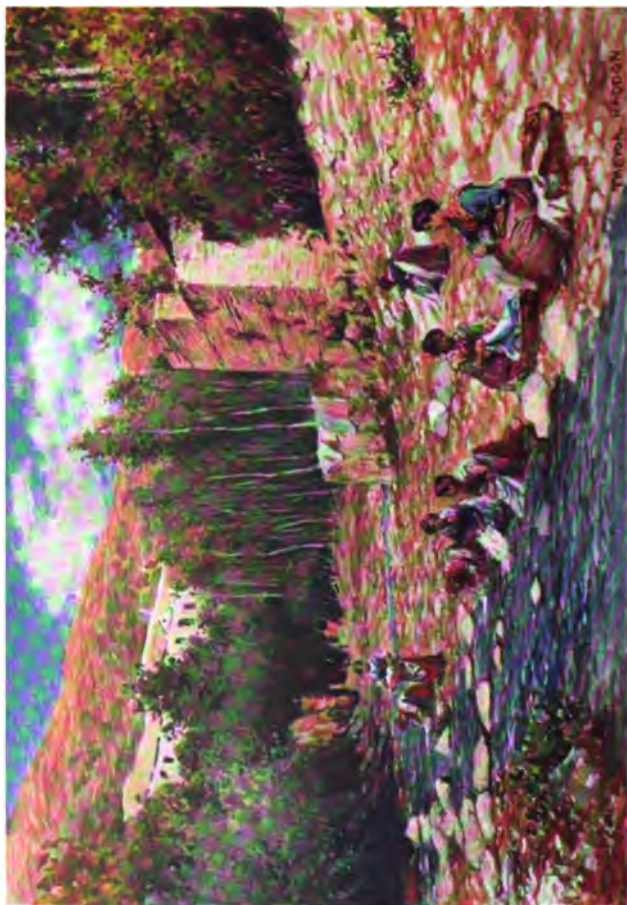
Market Gardeners

fortifications that extended to the Bab Atauwin. The interior, at all events, bears evident marks of its Arabic origin. The staircase was probably built by Moors, and there are rich azulejos and a splendid artesonado ceiling. The busts of eminent Spaniards adorn the chamber, together with the graven heads of Moors and Christians, and reliefs of Lucretia, Judith, Semiramis, and Penthesilea.

The Arabic sword, with a richly decorated hilt and scabbard, shown in this house, is said to have



The Casa de los Tiros



Villas on the Banks of the River Darro.

belonged to Boabdil. The sheath, in any case, is unquestionably of post-Moorish workmanship. It is well to be very much on one's guard as to the numerous relics ascribed to the last Moorish king.

In the neighbourhood of the Casa de los Tiros is another large building called the Casa de los Girones (number 1 Calle Ancha de Santo Domingo), with traces of Moorish work. This quarter of the town is, however, colourless and uninteresting to all but the most assiduous students of architecture. There is more life and colour in the



A Charcoal Dealer

Plaza Nueva, to which we may now proceed. The large building on the north side, now the Audiencia or High Court, was begun about 1530, and was for centuries the chancery of the ancient kingdom of Granada, which included beside the modern province of the name, the provinces of Almeria, Malaga, and Jaen. The façade is dignified and in good taste. The fine staircase came to be built in the following manner. One day the Marquis del Salar presented himself covered before the tribunal. On the president commanding him to remove his hat, he replied

that as a descendant of the valiant Pulgar, he had the right to stand covered even before the king. The judge refused to hear him, and condemned him to pay a heavy fine, which was doubled every time the act of disrespect was repeated. Philip II. was



A Gipsy Dance

appealed to, and pronounced against the marquis. "It is one thing to stand covered before me," he said, "but quite another to remain covered in the presence of Justice." With the fine thus imposed, the staircase was built. This incident recalls well-known episodes in the careers of Henry V. and Frederick the Great.

Just where the Darro reappears, on its left bank,

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is the church of Santos Gil y Ana, built on the site of a mosque. The beautiful Renaissance portal was built, it is alleged, by Siloe. The images are those of St. Anne, St. Mary "of Salome," and St. Mary "of James." The fine statue of Our Lady of Dolours is by Mora. The tower, built in 1561, is a clever



The Plaza Nueva

reproduction of a minaret. The ceiling of the church is a good example of the Mudejar style.

Passing up the Carrera del Darro—the most picturesque street in Granada—close to the church of Saints Peter and Paul, and fronting the river, we see a very handsome mansion built in 1539 for Hernando de Zafra, the statesmanlike secretary of

Ferdinand and Isabella. The portal is in three stages: the first contains the entrance, a square doorway, bordered with shells and trophies, between Doric columns; the second bears the escutcheons of the family (one showing the Tower of Comares), above them being sculptured griffins and lions; the third, a balcony between pilasters, carved in delicate relief. In a line with this is another balcony at the corner of the house, bearing the curious inscription, *Esperandola del Cielo*—"Waiting for it from Heaven." These words are explained by a tragic legend. De Zafra is said to have suspected his daughter of a clandestine attachment. To satisfy his doubts, he burst into her room one day, and found her page assisting her lover to escape by the window. Baulked of his prey, the father turned, with death in his face, upon the boy. "Mercy!" shrieked the page. "Look for it in Heaven!" answered the Don, and he hurled his daughter's accomplice from the balcony into the street below. So runs the legend. De Zafra does not appear, according to the records, to have left any children; but his daughter may not have survived the terrible consequences of her amour. "After all," remarks Valladar, "nothing was easier in the sixteenth century than to throw a page out of the window without attracting the attention of the police or magistrates."



Church of Santa Ana

It was De Zafra, by the way, who went backward and forward in secret, and at the risk of his life, between the Castilian camp and the Alhambra, when the capitulation was being negotiated. Hence his right to bear on his shield the Tower of Comares, wherein the articles were probably signed.

The Casa del Chapiz in a side street at the end of the Carrera, was built for two wealthy Moors, El Perri and his brother-in-law, El Chapiz, some time after the reconquest. It was confiscated after the Moorish revolt in 1581. The Mudejar ceilings are worthy of note, but the house has evidently undergone repeated restoration—of which it stands badly in need at present. The same may be said of the church of San Juan de los Reyes, near at hand. Erected in the Gothic style by Rodrigo Hernandez about 1520, with it was incorporated the minaret of the mosque of Ataybin; but it has now entirely lost its peculiar Moorish features, which were more pronouncedly Eastern than any other Grenadine monument.

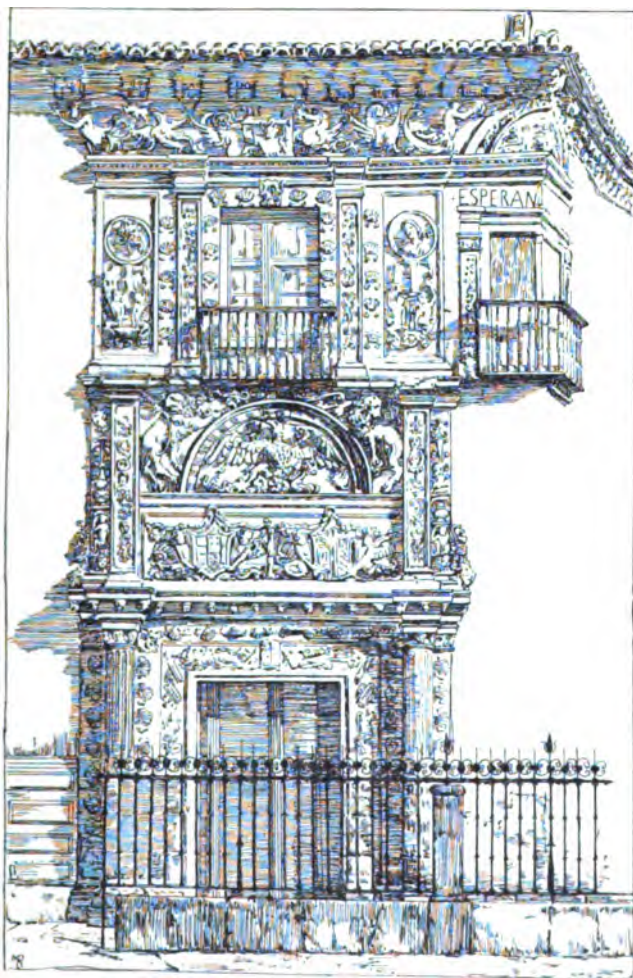
On the other side of the Darro a road leads round the slope of the Generalife to the fountain of Avellano, a beautiful spot which Chateaubriand preferred to the more historic spring of Vaucluse. The sites are indeed comparable; but here there never was a Petrarch to weep over his Laura. On the

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Villas on the Banks of the River Darro.



The House of Hernando de Zafra

north side of the stream a road leads to the Sacro Monte. This is worth visiting for the fine view. Otherwise it is interesting only as a memorial of human credulity. In 1594, one Hernández, reported to the Archbishop, Don Pedro Vaca de Castro, that



The River Darro

he had discovered within a cave in this hill, certain books written in Arabic characters on sheets of lead, which declared this to be the place of sepulture of the martyrs Mesito, Hiscius, Tesiphus, and Cecilius. These works were for upwards of a century the subject of embittered controversy. Meanwhile a church was raised over the spot, and became a place of pilgrimage. Whether the martyrs referred to ever

existed is open to question. The church has no architectural merit, but the caves are interesting and may have served as catacombs to some early Christian community. The rock worn away by the kisses of



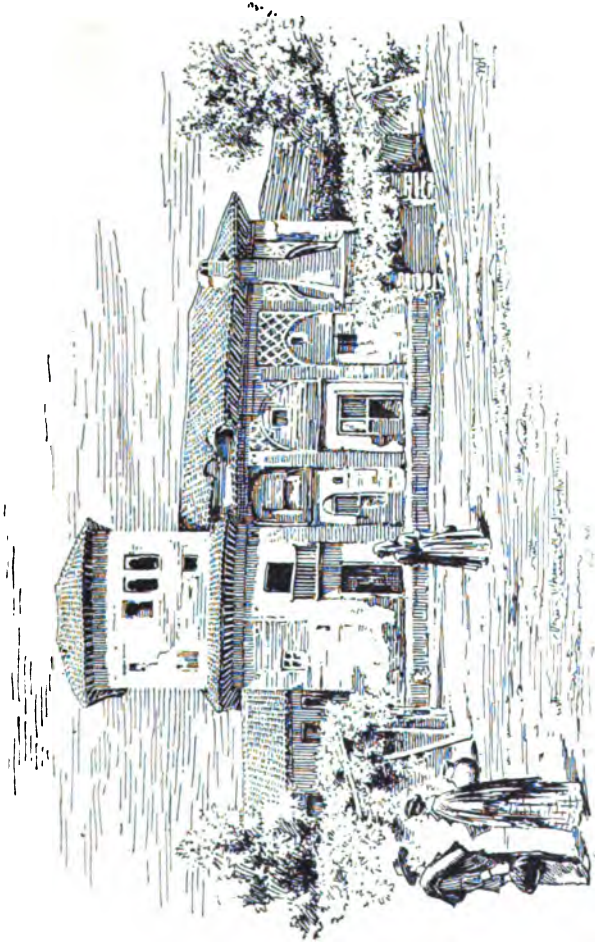
Court of the House of Chapiz

devotees, usual at such shrines, is shown. There is a superstition that the person who kisses the stone the first time will be married within the year, if single, and will be released from the conjugal tie if already married. As divorce does not exist in Spain, it is to be hoped that the stone is seldom had recourse to by discontented Benedicts.

Modern Granada is to be studied in the opposite

quarter of the town, on the Puerta Real, and the beautiful promenades by the Genil, the Paseos del Salón and de la Bomba. The space near the Hotel Alameda, now covered with café tables, seems to be the spot referred to by Cervantes as the Rondilla, the resort of the light-fingered fraternity. On the right of the Alameda, going towards the river, the gaudy seventeenth-century church of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias ("Our Lady of Pain") may be glanced at. It is the shrine of an image much venerated by the people of Granada, and after which they are fond of naming their children. To English ears "Angustia"—Agony—like Dolores, seems an uncomfortable label to bear through life, though no doubt appropriate to a vale of tears. The ill-paved, tree-lined street leads us out to the promenade by the Genil, where Benlliure's bronze statue confronts us, representing Columbus receiving the assent of Isabel the Catholic to his mighty project. The monument has been severely criticised. The pose of the two figures is somewhat too natural and commonplace for a work of this kind. We could wish the sculptor had idealised his subject.

Crossing the Genil, a short walk, which in summer will remind you of the Sahara Desert, will bring you to the little Ermita de San Sebastian, formerly a Moorish oratory. Here on the memorable 2nd of



The Casa de Sanchez

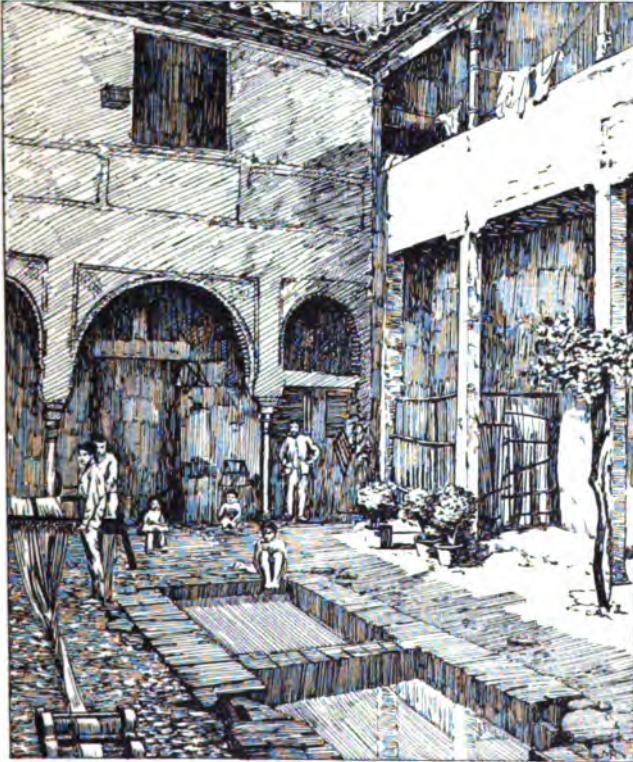
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January 1492, as I have already related, Boabdil surrendered the keys of Granada to Ferdinand. The road winding to the left brings you to the Duke of Gor's country seat of Alcazar Genil, built by Yusuf I. as a palace for the Moorish queens. So at least says one authority, but, as will perhaps have been noted, if we accept all statements of this kind, two-thirds of the city's area must have been occupied by royal residences, and there could have been scant room for the half-million inhabitants the same writers tell us of. Simonet, on the other hand, says that this palace was built in the time of the Almohades, and that here were lodged the Christian knights and princes who so often sought refuge at the Court of Granada. The building contains much Moorish decorative work, skilfully restored by Contreras.

In the gardens of the archbishop's palace at Zubia, four miles from the city, is a laurel bush, behind which Isabel the Catholic concealed herself when her party was surprised by the Moors. The Spaniards gained the day, and in gratitude for her escape the queen founded a monastery on the spot, long since demolished. We may return to the city by the Puerta Verde, near which stood the Bab-en-Neshdi or Puerta de los Molinos, through which the Christians entered Granada in 1492.

When we walk through the streets of the town,

and enter its tawdry churches and dilapidated public buildings, it does not strike us that it has gained



Court of an old House in the Calle del Horno de Oro

very much by its change of masters. The expulsion of the Moors and the French invasions of 1810 and

1820 were the culminating disasters in its story. The silk industry disappeared, and stagnation set in. Yet Granada is the residence of many very wealthy families, and the prevailing depression is due rather



Statue of Queen Isabella and Columbus

to want of enterprise than want of funds. It must be admitted, that the people seem happy enough, and more of the joy of living is apparent in its streets than in much more prosperous towns of the same size in England. We who sneer at Granada in her decay would not perhaps relish a Spaniard's comparison of her with thriving Huddersfield! In summer evenings, as at Seville, one great fair seems



Market and Gypsy Fair in the Triunfo.

in progress in the principal streets. Everybody is out of doors, and in a mood to appreciate the simplest forms of amusement. Granada is a light-hearted city. Her citizens are renowned for their elegance of costume, and her men are unquestionably as well-groomed as any to be seen in the capitals of



By the Wayside. Gipsy Basket-makers

Europe. This statement may jar on those who think of Granada as a palace of enchantment and a home of romance. In truth, it is far less romantic and infinitely less individual than Seville. A pleasant city withal. And one which, it is only fair to say, shows signs of partaking in the slow but certain revival of industry in Spain. Great hopes are entertained of the newly-introduced manufacture of beet-root sugar; and if a Vega studded with factory

chimneys will not rival the Vega of the Moors in beauty, it may far outdistance it before long in prosperity and population. The future is full of promise for "the most loyal, most noble, great, famous, and heroic city of Granada!"

ALONSO CANO

BY

ALBERT F. CALVERT AND C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY.

GRANADA was not a centre of art in Spain, as Seville was, or even as Valencia and Cordova were, but the southern city had one painter. And amongst the many interesting figures in the country's art, as yet unrescued from neglect and oblivion, few stand out with a more fascinating personality than Alonso Cano. He belongs, writes Richard Muther, "to that group which may be called the aristocrats of art history." Descended from parents of gentle blood, and trained from his boyhood in art, it would certainly seem that he followed his personal inclinations to a fuller extent than the great mass of his contemporaries. A strange chord was sounded which was not heard again in Spanish work of the seventeenth century.

It is not easy to explain Cano's appearance in a race monotonously grave, always austere in its outlook upon nature. But the art lover will find constant food for astonishment and study in Spain, a country never specially endowed in her art, whose successes in

painting have been isolated achievements due to the genius of great personalities. Cano passes across the Spanish seventeenth century, with its seriousness, its almost defiant realism, charming and unexpected. Tempestuous of temper, he was a cavalier whose sword was ready always to spring from the scabbard, as well as a canon of the Church, a painter, sculptor, and architect.

All Spanish art is dramatically serious in its tendencies. Cano painted religious pictures, as, indeed, did all the masters of southern Spain, where art was used for the service of God and not for the delight of man. But what a new step in the history of Spain's painting we find. Think of the dramatic religious scenes of such painters as the great realist Ribera, or the gravity and simplicity of Zurbaran's ascetic art, or again, the sense of earthly corruption in some of the pictures of Valdés Leal.

In their works Christ is always the Man of Sorrows, Mary is the Mater Dolorosa, or the mother maiden who has no knowledge of the love of this world ; the saints are depicted on the rack of martyrdom.

This profound seriousness, directing, as it does, the entire course of Spanish painting, was the natural artistic outcome of the predominance of character in the Spanish temperament. The chief end of art was to persuade men to piety and to incline them to God,

wrote Pacheco, the master of Cano and Velazquez, in his *Arte de la Pintura*, which was published in Seville in 1649. In Cano we find the reaction, and in his work art is turned into a new channel. Although Christ, the Madonna, saints and martyrs, were painted by him, the spirit of his pictures was no longer the same. His preference was for life, and a quite new pagan rejoicing in the senses sets his art apart from among the painters of Andalusia. To him alone, it would seem it was given to find joy and not sorrow in human life and in divine life.

It is in this new gift of the joy of the senses that we find the significance of Cano's art. He changed the traditional religious representations common to his contemporaries into scenes that are really love stories of knights and ladies. In such a picture, for instance, as the "Vision of St. Anthony" in the Munich Pinacothek, probably the best known among all his work, we see the saint adoring Mary, but how different, how new is the sentiment expressed. It is chivalry and not religion that speaks so charmingly here—a man worships an adored Lady, not a saint the Mother of God. Cano neither thrills nor excites us; his pictures never touch the level we find in the passionate art of Ribera and Zurbaran; they are on a lower level than the ecstatic emotion of Murillo, the master of whom he was in some measure the forerunner, indeed without

Cano's Virgins Murillo's Conceptions could hardly have been painted. Cano is mild and touching; there is nothing sad in his art. And this is true even in those pictures whose themes treat of sorrow. Thus in his Crucifixions and Flagellations of the Christ the expression of pain is softened and the delicate treatment deprives the stories of their harsh truth. Contrast his renderings of the great death drama with the Crucifixions of Zurbaran; there is no insistence on sad details, no startling intensity, we do not feel the physical pain and sorrow. Even when Cano paints the Entombment it is not the triumph of death which he depicts. No longer do the earthly friends of Christ stand stricken with grief around His body bemoaning His martyrdom; instead, happy angels with radiant wings support Him and give a foretaste of the triumphant joys of heaven. His martyrs and especially his women—for Cano's appeal rests largely in his power to realise the charm of women—all exist in an atmosphere of tender joyousness. Take as instances the wonderful painting of St. Agnes in the Berlin Museum, or those six pictures of the Magdalene in the altar of the parish church of Getafe, a small town near Madrid, or again, the two renderings of the Virgin with Christ in the Museo del Prado, and the really beautiful Virgin and Child in Seville Cathedral. What a new understanding of the appeal of woman we find in these

pictures. The penitent Magdalene is a beautiful sinner ; Mary is a happy Mother taking sweet pleasure in the nursing of her Child. In the Prado pictures she is placed in a tender nocturnal landscape, and in calm and dreaming pleasure she gazes on her babe ; she has no halo, but the stars form a glittering crown behind her. We have the charm of the earthly mother substituted for the ecstasy of the bride of the Lord. The Seville Virgin has even more of the fairness that Cano gives to women ; there is a suggestion of love that is remembered in the glance with its human sweetness which caresses the child she holds. And the same tender joyousness, born of earthly love, speaks in the soft brown Andalusian eyes of the St. Agnes at Berlin. It is in such pictures as these that we find the real qualities in Cano's art ; and before them we forget that he executed a great mass of indifferent, even meaningless, work—the result of a too facile pictorial talent. It is this crowd of bad and empty pictures that have led to an underestimation of his really lovable talent.

Doubtless by this loss of seriousness Cano misses the greatest gift of the Spanish painters: their power of telling a story dramatically, be it a religious story, or the more personal story of man, expressed in portraiture. Never do we find in his pictures that strong sense of the reality of the thing told, the quality

so present in all Spanish art, which expresses itself in dramatic gesture, and in the painting of vivid details to help in the rendering of the scene just as the painter supposed it might have happened. Cano, for reasons we shall presently try to show, was without this strong dramatic intention—the gift of the man who sees. In his reaction against the Spanish spirit Cano worked without the Spanish seriousness.

And this brings us to another point. One quality that impresses us in Cano's pictures is the way in which he aimed at the simplification of the accessories of his art; perhaps no other painter has produced his pictures with such simple effects. Carl Justi, as well as other writers, have invented an indolence of character, to which the facts of Cano's life lend no support, to explain this simplicity of invention. But the truth is, it was the outcome of his loss of purpose. It was not his aim *to say something*; he had no use for the emphatic expression that is the strength, as it is also the weakness, of Spanish painting. Almost all his pictures are just incidents with solitary figures, chosen, it would seem, at hazard, and repeated again and again; "Mary with her Child," "Mary with Angels," "Christ on the Cross," "Christ carrying the Cross," "Christ at the Column," and such subjects. And here is a further reason why Cano is the least Spanish of all the painters of Spain. Once or twice only, as in

the picture of "The Last Judgment" in the church of Mount Sion at Seville, does he give us qualities which we recognise as Spanish.

The circumstance that Cano was a native of Granada, the southernmost city of Spain, may explain, to some extent, the special temper of his art. Granada has an atmosphere of its own. All the history of Spain is written in its ruins and can still be read there. The seductive spirit of the East lives in this city, to which poets have given the title "The Pearl of Price." It is most beautifully placed, set on the border of the verdant Vega, at the feet of the mountains of the Sun. Nature is lyrically soft, and the air one breathes is sensuously laden, where all speaks so eloquently of beautiful life. Granada is delicately joyous, its wonderful Red Palace is the most unspoilt Moorish work in Spain, combining in its many exquisite rooms and in its gardens, in spite of decay and alterations, much of that full suggestion of all beautiful things which was the gift of that wonderful people. Here you have the charm of delicate buildings, of richly coloured tiles, mosaics, and rare inscriptions, with those of pure flowing waters, of great clipped cypresses, of myrtle and orange-trees and the glow of flowers. Men who have grown up in such surroundings are more responsive in all the emotions than those who have lived in cities of quieter appeal; for the special

atmosphere of such a place, with its ever present expression of romance, renders the nerves more vibrating and passionate. And it is certainly reasonable to suppose that the boy Alonso was wrought upon, as any sensitive child would be, by the mysterious adjacent Alhambra, where you find yourself in a new atmosphere ready for romance, and life seems to move to measures of music and in delicate fetters of colour.

Alonso Cano was fortunate, therefore, in his birth-place as he was also in the circumstances surrounding his youth. He was born on the 17th of March 1601, and was baptized in the parish church of San Ildefonso, where the register of his baptism may still be seen. He died in the same city on 15th October 1667, and was buried in the Cathedral which to-day prizes his work as its most splendid treasure. His father, Miguel Cano, was a native of Almodova del Campo; his mother, Maria de Almansa, came from Almansa in the province of La Mancha; they belonged to "the gentle" or *hidalgo* class, with descent on both sides from good families; and this fact is significant in Spain, whose artists were mainly drawn from the artisan and peasant class. Miguel Cano was a well-known and skilful architect and carver of *retablos*, those astonishing sculptured works which belong so specially to Spain, and which occupied so large a

part of its art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He brought his son up to his own calling ; thus the young Cano had opportunities of familiarising himself with the tools of his art at an early age. He learned the use of materials and methods, the guild traditions of fitness and proportion, colour harmony and decorative effect. This early home influence and training must have counted as a stimulus to the boy who from the first showed an aptitude for imitation. Soon his talent gained the notice of the painter Juan del Castillo, who recommended the removal of the Cano family to Seville for the sake of better instruction.

Here the eager boy found himself upon his true soil, and we may well believe in the impulse given to the natural bent of his character in the delight he must have had in the southern capital, " the golden city," which was a centre of culture, wealth, and pleasure. Seville was a maritime city ; it was the metropolis of the new world and the focus of the commercial enterprise of Europe. The riches of the West Indies were pouring into its harbour ; it was the mart to which galleons with almost fabulously rich cargoes were brought. This inevitably meant the profit of art.

Cano entered for eight months the studio of Francisco Pacheco, having Velazquez as comrade in his studentship. But a year later, when Juan del Castillo

came from Granada to Seville, he left the older master and became the apprentice of his friend. Afterwards, it is said, that for a time he worked in the studio of the realist Herrera. In sculpture he was the pupil of Martinez Montañes ; and he continued to assist his father, who was largely employed in carving retablos for the churches and convents of the district.

It may be well to estimate the forming influence of this mixed tutorship on a boy whose temperament was easily receptive. Pacheco, a man of fine culture, was a conscientious and excellent teacher ; as an artist he was an eclectic, and though of mediocre personal talent, his art was very popular, being representative of the taste of the day, which leant entirely towards Italy and the imitation of things Italian.

It was this tendency towards a pseudo-Italianism which, from the first, directed Cano's talent. Already, as a child and as a youth, he may have noticed the sixteenth century retablo in the church of San Geronimo at Granada, a beautiful and harmonious work in the Italian manner of great freedom, and expressing more truly the Italian spirit than is common in Spanish paintings. In Seville he would be attracted by the work of Juan de las Roelas, who had learnt much from the art of Italy, and in many of whose pictures he would find a human gaiety unusual in Spain. In the Cathedral and in the churches of the city he would

see the gilded decorative pictures of the early painters of the Spanish school, and especially in the work of Alejo Fernandez, in the "Virgen de la Rosa," in the church of Santa Ana at Triana, for instance—he would notice a delicate care for beauty, expressed more perfectly perhaps by this painter than by any Andalusian artist.

Pacheco, whatever his personal talent, and his own paintings can have been of little importance as an inspiration, inculcated in his pupils the habits of patience and perseverance; it was with him that Velazquez first acquired that capacity for improvement which is one quality of genius. Unfortunately it was just in this capacity that Cano failed. Yet another advantage resulted from this training; as the pupil of Pacheco, Cano would gain admission to the renowned Casa de Pilatos, the rendezvous of a polished coterie of painters and men of letters. The third Duke of Alcalá, Fernando Enriquez de Ribera, was a patron of the arts. He had collected many pictures, and especially the paintings of the great realist Ribera, which he brought from Naples introducing them to Seville. Then he had cabinets of coins and medals, and cases containing manuscripts, and, of more moment as a forming influence on Cano, a large number of Roman relics collected from Italica, among them many excellent examples of classical

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sculpture. We may accept the estimate of the Spanish writers that the true source of Cano's inspiration can be found in these classical models, from which we know he worked in these years of youth.

The change to the studio of Juan del Castillo which, as we have said, took place after nine months' work with Pacheco, in companionship with Velazquez, was certainly harmful to Cano. This bad painter, whose lifeless and dull pictures, crude in colour and unnatural in action, still crowd the churches of Seville, a witness to the swift poison brought to Spanish painting by the eruption of Italianism in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, may at once be dismissed. From him Cano can have learnt nothing. Indeed Castillo's one claim to remembrance is that Cano, and later, the much greater Murillo, worked as his apprentices, grinding colours and preparing the canvases for his commonplace pictures. We may dismiss, too, any possible influence of the elder Herrera, who, over-estimated in Spain, is claimed as the founder of the Spanish school. Nowhere in Cano's work do we find a trace of Herrera's florid and emphatic manner. If the boy did, as tradition says, become his pupil, it is probable that the master's violence and eccentricity soon drove him from the studio as it did all his pupils. Of far greater importance was Cano's apprenticeship to the sculptor, Martinez Montañes, who

already had revived in Seville the mediæval polychrome sculpture of Spain, resisting the Italianising influences which had extended from painting to sculpture. There seems to have been a great friendship between the master and the pupil. For some time Cano worked under his guidance, and in 1636 we find him applying to Montañes to decide the value of an altar-screen executed for the parish church of Lebrija.¹ Assuredly Cano's debt to this master was very great; all his early works in Seville are very similar to the groups and figures of Montañes, having the same classical sense of form, though with more delicacy in the treatment and colouring.

These earliest sculptured works—of which some may still be seen in Seville—were three retablos, designed, carved, and painted for the college of San Alberto, and two for the Conventual Church of Santa Paula. Zurbaran and Pacheco were employed with Cano in executing the retablos of San Alberto, and Cean Bermudez tells us that his work surpassed theirs. In the execution of the altar-screens for Santa Paula he was helped by Gaspar de Rebas who worked with him under the direction of Montañes. These works remain in the church of Santa Paula—one over the altar of St. John the Baptist, the other over that of St. John the Evangelist. They are pieces of har-

¹ The price was fixed at three thousand two hundred and fifty ducats.

monious work, altogether praiseworthy, that show Cano's combined power as architect, sculptor, painter, and damask worker. The finer is the altar of St. John the Baptist. A statue of the Prophet, a bas-relief representing the Baptism of Christ, are at either side, and between a beautiful representation of figures carrying the head of St. John on a charger; then to the right and left, between the columns, statues of the Saints are placed, and these surmount figures of the Virtues and Cherubim. The hand of a master is seen everywhere. Scattered in the churches of Seville, too often placed near dark side-altars and hidden by unsightly robes, are a few good pieces that belong to this period. There is a Conception in the nunnery of Santa Paula, placed over the doorway; a second, and perhaps finer, Conception is in the parish church of San Andrés; there is also in the same church a beautiful Child Jesus, unfortunately dressed in a satin robe which quite hides the body; and there are a few other works of less interest, less certainly by Cano, though ascribed to him.

An important work belongs to the year 1628. Miguel Cano had been employed to erect a new high altar for the church, once a mosque, of the ancient town of Lebrija.¹ The altar was already designed, but

¹ Lebrija is a small town forty-five miles from Seville on the way to Jeréz.

the figures were not started, when, in 1630, he died. It fell to his son to complete the work. Four pieces of sculpture were executed, a Crucifixion to be placed above the altar, colossal statues of St. Paul and St. Peter for its second storey, and a small and exquisite image of the Blessed Virgin enshrined within a curtained niche above the slab of the altar. This last is, on the whole, the most pleasing sculpture of these early years ; it is one of those inspired pieces which cause us to forgive much of Cano's commonplace work.

To the same period of youth, which may for convenience be termed the Sevillian period, belong a group of first pictures. Cano was largely employed by the Carthusians, and eight scriptural pictures were painted for the adornment of their refectory, of which the two most important were "Adam and Eve driven from Paradise" and "Joseph escaping from Potiphar's Wife"; and for the same Order he made a copy of the Madonna, Christ, and St. John, of Raphael, the master who influenced much of his work ; as well as other paintings now forgotten. It is to be regretted that these pictures are no longer in Seville.

But of all the pictures in this first style, painted by Cano in his youth, the most interesting is the large "Purgatory" still in the church of Monte Sion. The strong impression made by this powerful work is one that lingers in the mind. Already we have referred to

its Spanish character, so different from Cano's later and more personal manner. It must be presumed that it was painted under the influence of the realists who were working in Seville at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The self-possessed execution recalls Ribera, and we remember that Cano was already acquainted with the art of this powerful painter by his pictures in the Casa de Pilatos. In the foreground are four men and two children; they lift their hands out of the red flames; other figures appear shadowy behind them. It is a dramatic realisation of the terrible scene, given quite simply, and with a power of representing the conception of the painter that one finds rarely except in Spain, where art was closely allied to story-telling.

Several paintings will be found in Seville in the same style as this picture, which, for this reason, probably belong to the same period; examples are "The Descent from the Cross," in San Vicente, and, a picture of greater interest, "Las Animas del Purgatorio," in the Provincial Museum, assigned to Cano, the present writer thinks correctly.¹ The fine half-length portraits of St. Francis Boja and Ignatius Loyola, and the St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, all in the University, were also probably

¹ The beautiful Madonna of the Cathedral belongs to Cano's third period, and will be noticed later.

painted at this time. But it must be stated at once that it is very difficult to make any certain classification of Cano's paintings and sculptured pieces. Spain has cared too little about the works of her artists. Spurious Canos are shown to the visitor in Seville and elsewhere, while many statues and pictures referred to by Cean Bermudez and the old Spanish writers have disappeared.

These few sculptured works and paintings carry us forward to the year 1637. Then a change came. Cano, plunging as was his wont, with passion into life, challenged a fellow-painter, Sebastian de Llano y Valdés, for he would allow no superior in his art to be near him. He stabbed and wounded him, and, to escape the action of the ecclesiastical authorities, he fled to Madrid.

This was the turning point in Cano's life ; in the work he executed in this second period of his art, the really independent Cano was involved. In Madrid he found himself in a safe haven. He renewed his friendship with his former fellow-student Velazquez, who was already in a position of favour in the Court, and to his influence, doubtless, he owed an appointment to work in the royal palaces, which two years later he obtained. Cano's prosperity was assured ; he gained the protection of the Count-Duke Olivares ; he was made painter to Philip IV., and, moreover, he was charged to teach Prince Baltasar Carlos to paint.

From certain documents in the palace archives, dated 1640 to 1643, we know that he was commissioned with Arias Fernandez and Francisco Camilo, two artists of the Madrid school, to paint portraits of the Kings for the gallery of the royal portraits then being formed in the new Alcazàr. We are told that he painted those of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholics. It is stated also that he assisted in judging other paintings executed at that time for the royal palaces.

The disappearance of these portraits by Cano again places us in difficulty. It seems impossible to clear up the confusion which exists with regard to his works. But it is to be presumed that at this time, or rather earlier, the grotesque portraits of the Gothic Kings, now in the Prado, were painted. We know that on the occasion of a great bull-fight, given in 1638 in honour of the Duke of Modena, the buffoons of the palace were dressed in costumes of the Gothic Kings. What more likely than that Cano, just then rising in the royal favour, should be commissioned to execute their portraits, either for the salon of royal portraits or for that of the comedians also in the Alcazàr? And if these portraits were, as we think, Cano's first work in Madrid, they stand as a link between his first and his second period. A realistic power, a certain coarse quality, seen in the Sevillian "Purgatory" remains, which later becomes soft and

theatrical. It may be said that no pictures of Cano are more interesting than these singular portraits.

The influence, drawn perhaps, as we have suggested, from the pictures of Ribera, seen in Seville, was soon supplanted ; and the bonds, always against his temperament, which for a time had united our painter's art with the realists, in Madrid, were broken. Through his friendship with Velazquez, Cano would gain access to the royal galleries, where he would study the paintings of Raphael and Titian, the great masters of Italy, of Rubens, and others. Now the immediate result of these new influences was that he united what he saw in a strange motley of imitations ; then finally the independent Cano was evolved. Hence it is that the pictures that now follow are puzzling to classify. The large "Conception," painted probably about 1640, for a retablo in the church of the Imperial College, now San Isidro,¹ especially contains the quintessence of what he adopted from others ; but "The Virgin and Child" in the Buen Consejo chapel of the same church, and still more the later and much finer "Nude Christ," in the Church of St. Gines, show the new personal qualities which he added. The change in his work is clearly seen in the type of this Virgin ; the handmaid of God has been transformed into a young mother nursing her babe in quiet joy. In no respect does she

¹ The picture is now in the sacristy.

resemble the Catholic Mary, and already we may see the genesis of the beautiful, humanly-loving Mary of Seville Cathedral. And in the St. Gines' picture, Christ is a young man, effeminate in delicacy ; the slender nude figure sits on the rock of Calvary, his eyes gaze out at the landscape over his shoulder in sweet and tender melancholy. There is nothing left of the passionate spiritual asceticism of the realists. Notice the beautiful delicate hands, with the soft, almost quivering touch, for it is in these exquisitely expressive hands that the spirit of Cano's art lies. The hands in all his pictures are finely painted. From this time only the joy of this life really attracted Cano.

In the next four years Cano executed a group of paintings, in the same style as these pictures, in commission for Philip IV., as well as for the churches of Madrid. Of these works several are now in the Prado, three are in the Academy of San Fernando, while others, mentioned in the old inventories of Cean Bermudez and Palomino, have been lost with the disappearance of the churches for which they were painted. Cano is imperfectly represented in the Museum of the Prado. His most important pictures there are the "Dead Christ in the arms of an Angel," and "St. Benito Abad absorbed in Contemplation" (Nos. 668 and 672).¹ Yet both, as well as "The

¹ These two pictures were seen by Cean Bermudez in the Alcazâr and the Buen Retiro.

Christ at the Column,"¹ and "The Christ Crucified" are at a lower level than the "Nude Christ" of St. Gines, with which they must be classed; they are less expressive in feeling, although they show the same delicate and correct modelling of the male figure without any anatomical display. The companion pictures of "The Virgin adoring the Child" we have spoken of already; these two have especial interest, revealing, as they do, the development of Cano's changing mood. The same human sentiment is re-echoed. Breaking away from the old forms, Cano pictures the Mother sitting in dreaming happiness with her Child—the scene a night landscape; he gives her no halo, but the stars make her crown. The "St. John in Patmos," Cano's last picture in the Prado, by its manner of painting and sentiment, would seem to belong to an earlier period. The] strong probability is that it was painted either in Seville or during the first years in Madrid.² We have these works then, and the three less known, but the present writer thinks finer, pictures of the Academy of San Fernando—"Christ Crucified," "Christ in Purple," and "The Death of a Franciscan"—to carry us up to the date 1644, which closes the first Madrid period.

¹ This picture was brought to the Prado from the Escorial.

² The Prado catalogue suggests that the picture was brought from the Cartuja Portacali where Cano is said to have taken refuge after the supposed murder of his wife. But the evidence of the picture refutes the supposition.

Legend has gathered many stories around the years that now follow, and indeed, the life history of Cano would yield a fine romance. Some events must be noted to complete our knowledge of the man. In 1643 we find Cano at Toledo asking for work in the Cathedral. He did not obtain it, and returned to Madrid. His sudden departure from the capital soon afterwards was caused—so it is said—by an accusation of the murder of his wife, a woman of unchaste origin, who one day was found stabbed in her bed. An act of this kind made him impossible in Madrid. If we accept tradition, Cano fled, loaded with the curse of blood, first to the Franciscan convent of the city of Valencia, and afterwards to the Cartuja of Portacali. Palomino speaks of many works carved and painted, now disappeared ; among them “Christ bearing the Cross,” “A Crucifixion,” and a portrait of a holy woman, Inez de Moncada. Cano’s pictures now in Valencia, “The Christ of the Cathedral” and “The Nativity,” and “Christ at the Column,” in the Museum,—were brought from this monastery. These pictures may be classed with the works of the second period. Still following tradition, we learn from Palomino that on returning to Madrid, Cano fell under the tribunal of the Inquisition, was tortured by the alguazils, and emerged victorious from the test. But be this as it may, it seems certain that Cano was

in Madrid in 1647, and that his innocence was established is proved by the fact that he was employed as major-domo to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Sorrows. This was a source of fresh troubles, and in the same year he was fined a sum of a hundred ducats for refusing to assist in the Procession in Holy Week beside the alguazils of the Court—a characteristic incident, for Cano was a man who never crossed his own wishes. Our painter was still in Madrid in 1649, in which year he was working at his old carvings,¹ supplying the designs and superintending the building of the triumphal arch erected at the Guadalajara gate for the entry of Queen Mariana. Next year we find Cano in Toledo, employed by the Chapter to inspect works in the octagon chapel. Unfortunately we know of no personal work resulting from this stay.²

The year 1651 closes this period of wandering. For some reason possibly connected with his quarrels with the tribunals of the Inquisition, Cano sought an opportunity to leave Madrid. He seems to have desired to return to the city of his birth. A canonry being vacant in the Cathedral of Granada, he petitioned the post from Philip IV., which was

¹ In 1643 Cano had supplied designs for the monument erected during Holy Week for the Church of S. Gines.

² The statuette of St. Francis of Assisi in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral, which formerly was ascribed to Cano, is certainly not by him. This fine piece is the work of his pupil and disciple, Pedro de Mena.

granted by a royal decree, dated September 11, 1651, with the condition that Cano should be ordained *in sacris* during the next year. He left for Granada, and took possession, on February 20, 1652. But, in spite of the king's command, the year passed and he was not ordained. Three more years went by, then the king, strongly urged by the Chapter, decided that if he was not ordained during the Ember weeks of 1656, his prebendaryship must be considered vacant. It must be acknowledged that Cano did not belie his reputation for self-will, for he did nothing. Moreover, when the incensed Chapter communicated to him his dismissal, he professed indignation and styled their conduct an act of spoliation. Armed, therefore, with documents and certificates, he returned to Madrid to seek a solution of the quarrel.

This second stay of Cano in Madrid was not marked by any more work from his brush ; at least none is known. At Queen Mariana's behest he finished a "Crucifixion" begun at some earlier period, which possibly is the picture recently given to Segovia Cathedral by the Marquis of Lozoya. To this period we may perhaps ascribe the group of paintings on the Life of the Magdalene, executed for the parish church of Getafe, a small town eight and a half miles from Madrid on the way to Aranjuez. The characteristic features of these paintings carry us forward to the

third period in Granada. We see even more strikingly than in the Madrid pictures the human interest that Cano imparts to his women. There is ample reason for thinking that the execution of some at least of the pictures was carried out by pupils.

Meanwhile Cano gained the principal object of his journey. He accepted a chaplaincy conferred on him by the Bishop of Salamanca, and at once was ordained a sub-deacon. Then the king ordered, by a decree of April 14, 1658, that the Granada prebendaryship should be restored to him, but on condition he adopted ecclesiastical dress, which hitherto he had refused to do. At last, in 1659, Cano returned to Granada, took possession of his prebendaryship, which he occupied in peace for the remaining eight years of his life.

This third period in Granada was the period of Cano's greatest activity, and the work which he created for the Cathedral, and in commission for the religious houses of the city, is his most characteristic work by which he must be judged. A chamber on the first floor of the Bell Tower of the Cathedral was assigned to him as a studio, and we may well believe in the effect of such a residence as this in forming his finished style. He had at last found a fixed aim and a true home for his facile gifts.

The cycle of his activity begins with the great cupola frescoes of the Capilla Mayor, illustrating scenes

from the history of the Life of the Virgin. Nowhere else is Cano quite so effective as here. Intensely brilliant is the chapel; and here his paintings, the colours glowing in the rich light falling from the stained-glass windows above, are in harmony with the decoration, and become an essential part of its design. His Virgins, quivering with joy, his smiling, tender Child-Christ, the angels gracefully sporting about the scenes, seem of a new fair world. Cano did not endeavour, like the former masters of his country, to conceive dramatic and tragic compositions, but confined himself to human and charming representations of the sacred stories. And as you gaze upwards for long minutes enjoying the warm colour and pleasant drawing, you grow to have real affection for this painter, who gave so new an expression to the religious sentiment of Spain.

The Cathedral owes much to the years of Cano's residence. The lower stage of the massive west façade was largely his work. Many of the rich sculptures we owe principally to him. He designed and superintended the execution of two silver lamps for the principal chapel, he carved the elaborate lectern of the choir, formed of fine woods, bronze, and precious stones, and executed new portals for the sacristy.

Two medallions on copper of great delicacy were wrought for the Chapel of the Trinity. Pictures were painted as altar-pieces for the chapels. Some of these

canvases disappeared when Granada was stripped of so many of its treasures by the French. But a few fine pictures remain. There is "The Trinity" in the chapel of that name, and a fine "Way of the Cross" in the eighteenth century chapel of Jesus Nazareno, where it takes its place, not unworthily, beside three Riberas and an El Greco; and there is "the Virgen de la Soledad," over the altar of San Miguel, more beautiful in its tenderness. It is one of our painter's most characteristic works, and of real beauty in its human appeal. The Christ kneels absorbed in pain that is tender, not tragic; His arms are crossed; tears roll down His cheeks. He is dressed in a white robe; a veil of the same hue is wound around the body; a dark indigo cape covers the head and shoulders. But the interest of the picture centres in the Virgin, who appears amid draperies of the same deep blue as the cape of the Christ, brilliant, in a dark, yet luminous, atmosphere, which suggests the sky on a summer night. The spirit which breathes from this Mary is love, human love, quivering and longing. She is a woman of Granada, not of heavenly type. We see Cano's talent at its highest; not always does he rise to this level.

Even more important are Cano's carved and coloured statues, though it must be owned that Granada—if we are to believe our guide-books—possesses more works than ever he did! So little critical account

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has been taken of this really fascinating branch of Spanish art, that it has been usual to attribute to Cano almost every good piece of polychrome statuary in southern Spain. In truth it is impossible, in many instances, to distinguish with certainty between his work and that of his pupils, Josef de Mora and Pedro de Mena, who imitated his style and copied his work. And the difficulty is increased by Cano's habit of working himself on the carvings of his assistants; were they in difficulty he would finish them with his own hand. This has resulted in a confusion of Cano's real native gift, which, within the limitations of aim and realisation that were his, was very great indeed.

Among the most characteristic and individual statues in the Cathedral, ascribed to Cano and certainly his work, we must place first "The Purisima," which is kept in the sacristy. It is a most interesting piece that has the qualities which belong to the paintings of Cano. Perhaps it is the sculptured work which shows to the best advantage his power of expressing tender human emotions. Other works ascribed to Cano, though these pieces have been disputed, are the great busts of Adam and Eve, placed very high, to the right and left of the entrance to the Capilla Mayor, and the head of St. Paul, which is lost in the darkness of the Chapel of Nuestra Señora del Carmen. These pieces, and especially the bleeding head of St.

Paul, are subjects that belong less to Cano's art. The Adam and Eve, larger than life-size, are carved in oak and painted with excellent care. Unfortunately the height at which they are placed makes it very difficult to see them. The St. Paul, if it is Cano's work—and the great skill in the craftsmanship points to this being so—must be classed with the head of St. John the Baptist executed for the Convent of Santa Paula, which is also ascribed to Cano. This last piece must have been copied from Montañes' sculptured head of the Prophet for the church of Santa Clara. There is also an excellent "Head of St. Paul" in the Camarin of the Chapel of San Juan de Dios, which is probably Cano's work. Yet it is not easy to speak with any certainty. Many of the works attributed to Cano are probably the work of De Mora. A sculptured piece also in the Cathedral, which the present writer would give to Cano, is a "Virgin and Child with St. Anna." The figures are half life-size; the three faces and the hands are of exquisite delicacy. The Virgin resembles "The Purisima" in her sweetness. What a dainty fairness is here; with what exquisite taste the veil and the robe is arranged! In face of this work, as before in "The Purisima," we recognise anew Cano's importance in Spanish art.

In addition to his work for the Cathedral, Cano

was employed sculpturing and painting altar-pieces for the churches and different religious houses of his native city. His activity seems to have been unwearying. Cean Bermudez catalogues many works. For the Convent of the Angel, we read that he painted a picture of "Our Lord parting from the Virgin in the Via Dolorosa"; he carved in marble a figure of the Guardian Angel¹ to be placed over the portal, and he designed an elaborate altar-piece, which was carved by his disciple, Pedro de Mena; Cano, however, executed several of its statues with his own chisel. Other pictures we learn were painted for the Convent of San Diego, and a series of half-length Apostles were designed and executed for the Dominican Monastery of St. Catalina. We are told that in addition he worked for private patrons. Palomino tells of a statue of St. Anthony of Padua, carved for the auditor of the chancery, which Cano, becoming enraged with his client about the payment for the work, dashed to pieces. Unfortunately the disappearance of many of these churches and monasteries with all their contents, the change of the names of others, again makes it impossible to estimate these works, or to hazard an opinion as to their present

¹ Cean Bermudez catalogues this as Cano's only work in marble. The original drawing for this figure is in the collection of Cano's drawings in the Louvre.

whereabouts. The few pictures in the Provincial Museum assigned to Cano—in some cases with little apparent reason—may be some of them. However, their bad state of preservation renders judgment very difficult. There are besides a few sculptured pieces. We have mentioned already the “St. John the Baptist,” executed for the Convent of Santa Paula, and the “St. Paul” in the Camarin of the Church of San Juan de Dios. In addition to this work in the first chapel, there is a small statuette of the “Soledad,” and there is another representation of the same subject in the parish church of Santa Ana. Both these pieces have, without doubt, been copied from the painting of the “Soledad” in the chapel of San Miguel. The question is, are they by Cano? Probably the finer one, which is in Santa Paula, is his work, while the other is a copy by Josef de Mora. Yet both statues are so good, especially in the colouring, that the pupil’s work may well have been touched up by the hand of the master. Again, in the Cartuja there are two statues of St. Bruno; one, life-size, is in the sacristy, and this work, tradition says, was ordered from Josef de Mora; the other, which is placed over the high altar, may, with little question, be ascribed to Cano. At least, if it is not his work, then it is a copy of a lost original. Josef de Mora could not by himself have designed so exquisite a

work. The statuette far exceeds the statue in beauty. Both the carving and the colouring are equally fine ; the latter is a triumph of polychrome. The monk's pale face, his hands, his robe, and his white scapular are perfectly transcribed ; a richness being given to the white of the dress, in contrast to the pale flesh, by the device, often used by damask workers, of painting over a gold ground. This small work is a masterpiece.¹ It takes rank with the better-known "St. Anthony" in San Nicolas of Murcia, though this work belongs probably to an earlier period.

Towards the close of his third period of activity, a commission of work received from the Chapter of Malaga Cathedral called Cano from Granada. This visit was not without results. Cano designed the Capilla Mayor and new stalls for the choir, and painted the large altar-picture of the "Madonna of the Rosary with Six Saints," which still is in the Capilla del Rosario. It is an effective work, in which the qualities that belong to this third period appear. It is to be regretted that the deplorable state of the canvas has robbed it of much beauty. To our painter's stay in Malaga we owe the Seville Virgin and Child, known

¹ The Cartuja formerly contained the fine statue of the Magdalene, by Cano. It was taken away with many works of art during the invasion of the French. An engraving of this piece is given in *Studien zur Geschichte der Spanischen Plastik*, by Dr. B. Haendcke.



INTERIOR OF THE CARTUJA. THE SACRISTY

as "Our Lady of Bethlehem." The picture was painted for Don Andrés Cascantes, by whom it was given to Seville Cathedral of which he was a minor canon. It hangs where it was first placed in the small dark chapel of the *Virgen de Belén*, near to the left entrance which leads into the Court of Oranges. In this picture we see the debt which Murillo owed to Cano. This Virgin is not of heavenly beauty, once more we see an Andalusian mother, humanly tender. Cano clearly aimed at a beautiful composition of a woman and her child. In describing his Madonnas we must not judge them on the same terms we apply to those of the Spanish realists—of Morales, of Zurbaran, of Ribera. To those masters religious art existed as a solemn and often over-burdening truth. In comparison with their works Cano seems affected, empty even. He translates their devotion into sweetness. Yet consider how truly he expresses the power of love. We have the living woman, who, if she is the mother of the Lord, has understood and loved motherhood. Woman for Cano is human. It is this that directs his work.

Cano's work at Malaga brings us to those pictures which probably concluded his life work—the pictures in which he uses Mary and the Saints to paint what in reality are love scenes. Several of these canvases have been brought to the European galleries, and for

this reason they are better known than his paintings and sculptured pieces in Spain. We have referred already to these works. In the "St. Agnes" of the Berlin Museum we have one of the most beautiful of his women. In the "Vision of St. Anthony," in the Munich Pinakothek, the Virgin—aptly characterised by Professor Muther as "proud as a Venus Victrix and tender as a Tanagra figurine,"¹—descends from heaven in a cloud of glory and gives her Child to the kneeling saint, whose devotion Cano translates into earthly gallantry. No longer is Mary the Queen of Heaven: she is the Queen of Earth. The magnificent altar-piece in the Cook collection at Richmond² is the picture that best represents Cano in this country.³ The same language of love and human joy speaks here as, indeed, it does in all Cano's work that belongs to this third period in Granada. It is in these compositions, in which Cano, turning away from the asceticism of Spain, commingles religion with paganism, that his true gift is revealed. Here we find his real significance in Spanish art.

There is little more to add. The year 1665 finds Cano again in Granada, at work for the Dominican

¹ *History of Painting*, Richard Muther, vol. ii. page 529.

² A reproduction of this picture is given in *The Burlington Magazine*, August 1907.

³ There is a "Vision of St. John the Evangelist" by Cano in the Wallace Collection.

friars of the Royal Monastery of Santa Cruz, for whom he made sketches for a series of pictures on the Life of St. Dominic.¹ This was his last work. He died in his house in the Albaicin quarter, on 5th October 1667; he was then sixty-six years old. His body rests in the Pantheon of the Canons beneath the choir of the Cathedral.

It is worth noting that Cano died in poverty. Two entries in the register of Granada prove this. The first orders that five hundred *reales* shall be paid to the Canon Cano, "he being sick and very poor and without means to pay the doctor"; the second notice further orders that two hundred *reales* shall be added, "at the suggestion of the archdeacon, to buy him poultry and sweetmeats." Then a story of his death, though probably a fable, is too good not to be recorded; moreover it helps to complete our picture of the man. The priest called to offer the extreme unction to the dying Cano was accustomed to labour among penitent Jews, towards whom the painter had always displayed a curiously passionate antipathy. The sick man recognised the priest. "Go, Senor Licenciado," he cried, "go with God and do not trouble to call again. The priest who administers the Sacraments to Jews shall not administer them to me." A fresh priest was summoned. The new-comer tried

¹ Pictures were afterwards painted from these sketches by Camillo.

to place an ill-fashioned crucifix in the hands that had carved so many beautiful pieces. Impatiently they pushed it aside. "My son," gently remonstrated the priest, "what dost thou mean? This is the Lord who redeemed thee, and must save thee!" "I know that all very well," was Cano's answer, "but do you want to provoke me with this wretched, ill-wrought thing, in order to give me over to the devil?"

Cano's disposition was generous; in spite of his violence and restlessness he was loving and charitable. The old Spanish writers tell us that his gains as soon as he won them were divided among his friends and among the poor. They describe him as a gallant storming through life, who yet displayed boundless graciousness towards his pupils and his friends. No master ever took greater interest in his pupils. As we have noted, he gave freely to them of his knowledge and of his work. These contradictions in his temperament explain his art. In the portrait¹ that he has left of himself we see him old; it must have been painted in Granada in the last years of his life. He is dressed in the habit of his Order. It is a strong face, compact of energy, an energy that springs from

¹ This portrait, which was formerly found in Louis Philippe's Spanish gallery in the Louvre, is engraved in Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, p. 780.

the nerves and from the will, for the features are emaciated. The short white hair falls loosely on the forehead from beneath the dark cap ; the eyes, that look out with a sideward glance, have a quivering impatience ; the beautiful hands are as expressive as the face ; they hold a book. Yes, Cano must have had an interesting personality.

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In this brief essay it has been impossible to analyse all aspects of Alonso Cano's activity, or even to mention all his works. He may be compared with the artists of the Renaissance in the variety and facility with which he practised in different mediums. Besides his paintings and sculptures he employed his leisure moments in working in silver, in brass, and in copper, he was interested especially in copper-plates and other curios. The Spanish writers speak of him as a collector of great taste. Then he has left a larger and more interesting collection of drawings than any other Spanish master. Much of his time was spent in executing dainty drawings, outlined on white paper with the pen and shaded with sepia or Indian ink, perhaps these are among his most remarkable achievements. In the National Library of Madrid, in the Jovellanos Institute at Gijon, in numerous Museums and private houses in Spain, as well as in

the Louvre, in England,¹ and in other places, are numbers of his drawings and designs. Cano was especially fond of executing these, and he did so indiscriminately. Many sketches are studies for his pictures and sculptured pieces, others are designs for architectural works, and these last are executed with singular grace and mastery. The number of these drawings is so great that their names alone would almost fill this essay.

It may seem to many that Cano's achievement in Spain's art has been overrated in this essay—that his work has been given undue praise. He has been ignored by the majority of writers on Spanish artists in this country. Carl Justi, to whose works we owe so much of the little we know of Spanish art, passes severe judgment upon him. Professor Muther is perhaps the only modern writer, outside of Spain, to recognise his claim to a wider interest and recognition than has as yet been accorded to him. It is true Cano's talent was a limited one. And unfortunately he seems himself to have been of the opinion that he could accomplish everything; this explains, in part, how it is that he has left many works which show him from a disagreeable rather than from a lovable aspect. And

¹ There is a fairly good and representative collection of Cano's drawings in the Print Room of the British Museum. One really fine drawing of "The Virgin with Saints" was reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, August 1907.

"lovable" is not written without full consideration ; for Cano at his best is a really lovable artist. But as often as he ventures outside from his own limitations he fails, and a false striving after effect takes the place of real sentiment. His human joyousness in life is the quality which distinguishes his art. In this direction he struck chords which are echoed in no other Spanish work. This perhaps, more even than his actual achievement, is why one values his art in a school whose predominant characters are gloom and earnestness.

LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SCULPTURES, CARVINGS, AND OTHER WORKS ASCRIBED TO ALONSO CANO, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PERIODS AND PLACES WHERE PAINTED.¹

FIRST PERIOD, IN SEVILLE, 1620 (?)–1637

Seville—Sculptured Pieces

Church of Santa Paula—Two altar-pieces designed, carved, and painted. St. John the Baptist ; St. John the Evangelist. (These altar-pieces, and especially the former, are fine examples of Cano's early powers in carving.)

Church of San Andrés—Conception ; Child Christ.

Nunnery of Santa Paula—Conception.

In Lebrija (a small town 45 miles from Seville on the way to Jeréz)—Sculptured pieces.

The Church of the Town—Four pieces of sculpture executed to complete the altar designed by Miguel Cano. A Crucifixion ; St. Peter ; St. Paul ; The Blessed Virgin.

¹ This list has been made by the present writers and is offered as a suggestion only. In the present confusion which exists with regard to Cano's works it is impossible to give an authoritative list.

Seville—Pictures

Church of Monte Sion—Purgatory (large picture). (The most important painting of the first period.)

Cathedral, Chapel of Las Reliquias—A Christ; a Holy Father; two Saints.

(Our Lady of Bethlehem was painted in Malaga and belongs to the third period.)

San Vicente—Descent from the Cross.

Museo de la Merced (Provincial Museum)—Las Animas del Purgatorio.

University—Portraits of St. Francis Boja and Ignatius Loyola.

University Church—St. John the Baptist; St. John the Evangelist.

Collection of Don López Cepero, 7 Plaza Alfaro—Death of San Juan de Dios.

WORKS THAT HAVE DISAPPEARED

Seville—Sculptured Pieces

College of S. Alberto—Three altar-pieces designed, carved, and painted.

Convent of the Immaculate Conception—A Conception carved in stone; St. John the Evangelist carved in wood.

Seville—Pictures

Convent of the Carthusians—

The Refectory—Adam and Eve driven from Paradise (the Expulsion); Joseph escaping from Potiphar's Wife; six other pictures on Biblical subjects.

Convent of the Carthusians (continued)—

The Sacristy—A copy of Raphael's "Madonna, Christ, and St. John." (The old inventories of Cean Bermudez and Palomino give many other works.)

SECOND PERIOD, IN MADRID, 1637-1644

*Madrid—Pictures**Museo del Prado—*

Portrait of a Gothic King ;
 Portraits of two Gothic Kings ;
 St. John at Patmos.

(Transition pictures between the styles of the first and second periods)—

The Dead Christ in the arms of an Angel ;
 S. Benito Abad absorbed in contemplation

(The two pictures that best represent Cano in the Prado) ;

The Virgin adoring her Child ;
 Repetition of the same picture ;
 Christ at the Column ;
 S. Geronimo penitente.

Church of S. Gines—Nude Christ (the most important picture of the second period).

Imperial College non San Isidro—Conception (large picture).

Buen Consigo Chapel of same Church—Virgin and Child.

Academy of San Fernando—Crucifixion ; Christ in purple ;
 Death of a Franciscan.

Madrid—Sculptured Works

In 1643 Cano designed and superintended the monument erected in Holy Week for the Church of S. Gines.

(Many works inventoried by Cean Bermudez have disappeared.)

INTERMEDIATE PERIOD OF WANDERING

In Madrid, Valencia, Cartuja of Portacoeli, then back again in Madrid, and Toledo, 1644-1657.

Valencia—Pictures

Cathedral—A Christ.

Provincial Museum—Nativity ;

Christ at the Column.

(These pictures were brought from the Cartuja of Portacoeli at the time of its suppression.)

WORKS THAT HAVE DISAPPEARED

Many pictures now lost were painted by Cano for the Portacoeli, where tradition says he took refuge when accused of the murder of his wife.

Among them were—Christ bearing the Cross ; Crucifixion ; Portrait of a Holy Woman, Inez de Moncada, four pictures, unnamed, for the Cloisters.

Madrid—In 1649 Cano designed and superintended the building of the Triumphal Arch erected at the Guadajara Gate for the entry of Queen Mariana.

Y

Toledo, 1650—Inspected works, in the Octagon Chapel of the Cathedral.

Madrid, 1656-1658—A Crucifixion (an old picture, completed during this second visit to Madrid at the request of Queen Mariana. Possibly this is the Crucifixion in Segovia Cathedral, recently presented by the Marquis Lozoya).

Getafe (near Madrid)

Parish Church—A Retablo, designed and carved, with six large paintings on the Life of Mary Magdalene; single pictures of Saints for the side altars. (This work at Getafe was either executed in this period, or earlier, during Cano's first residence in Madrid.)

THIRD PERIOD, IN GRANADA, 1651-1656 AND
1658-1667

Granada Cathedral—Pictures

Capilla Mayor—Frescoes (seven paintings: the upper series decorating the roof of the chapel; the lower series are by Cano's pupils, Bocanegra and others)—Scenes from the Life of the Virgin: The Annunciation, Conception, Nativity, Presentation, Visitation, Purification, and Ascension.

The Church of the Trinity—The Trinity.

Chapel of Jesus Nazareno—The Way of the Cross.

Over the altar of San Miguel—The Virgen de la Soledad.

Cathedral—Sculptured Pieces

Sacristy—"The Purísima."

Capilla Mayor—Adam and Eve, colossal busts.

Chapel de Nuestra Señora del Carmen—St. Paul.

Chapel of Santa Ana—Virgin and Child with Santa Ana.

Cathedral—Various Works

Choir—Lectern, designed and carved.

Sacristy—Portals of doors, designed and executed.

Principal Chapel—Two silver lamps designed and executed.

The massive west façade was executed by Cano and José Granados with wide deviation from the designs of Diego de Siloe.

Granada—Sculptured Works

Cartuja—St. Bruno.

Convent of Santa Paula—St. John the Baptist (?), The Soledad (?).

Camarin Chapel of San Juan de Dios—St. Paul (?).

WORKS THAT HAVE DISAPPEARED

Granada

Cartuja—Magdalene.

Convent of the Angel—Design for an altar-piece (carved by Pedro de Mena, Cano executed several of the statues); Picture of Christ parting with the Virgin in the Via Dolorosa; Figure of Guardian Angel (carved in

marble and placed over the door of the convent ; said by Cean Bermudez to be the only piece of marble statuary executed by Cano).

Convent of San Diego—Many works (unspecified).

Church of Sta. Cataluna—Series of half-length Apostles.

Royal Monastery of Santa Cruz—Sketches for a series of pictures on the Life of St. Dominic (Cano's last works undertaken after the visit to Malaga ; afterwards pictures were painted from his sketches by Camillo).

Malaga Cathedral

Capilla del Rosario—Madonna of the Rosary with Six Saints (in bad preservation).

Capilla Mayor—Designed by Cano.

Choir Stalls—Designed by Cano.

Seville Cathedral

Altar de la Virgen de Belén—Our Lady of Bethlehem (painted in Malaga for Don Andrés Cascantes, a minor canon of Seville).

Murcia

Church of San Nicolás—St. Anthony in Capuchin dress.

Cadiz

Museum (Picture)—Virgin and Child appearing to St. Francis.

Segovia

Cathedral—Crucifixion.

PICTURES OUTSIDE SPAIN

Berlin Royal Gallery—St. Agnes.

Munich, Pinakothek—Vision of St. Anthony.

St. Petersburg, Hermitage—Virgin and Child ; the Infant Jesus and the little St. John ; Portrait of a man (supposed to be Cano) (the best known portrait of Cano is the one formerly in the Spanish Gallery of Louis Philippe. It is engraved in Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, p. 780) ; Portrait of a Knight.

London—Cook Collection—Richmond, Surrey, Altar-piece ; Virgin and Saints.

Wallace Collection—Vision of St. John the Evangelist.

DRAWINGS IN THE PRINT ROOM OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

Virgin with Saints.

A Canon kneeling before an Apparition of the Virgin.

Virgin giving the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso.

Assumption of the Virgin.

Altar-piece of the Assumption.

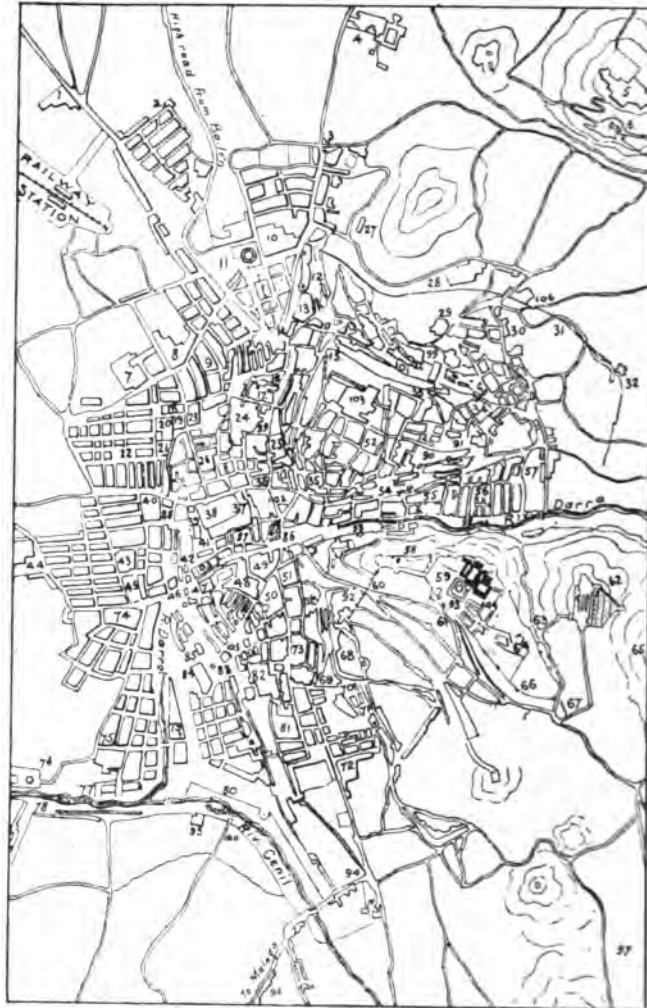
Christ holding the Cross ; Christ standing after His Resurrection ; Saint sitting with a book on his knee (three small drawings).

Feast of Bacchus.

The Boar hunt (two small drawings).

Design for Painted Ceiling.

GRANADA

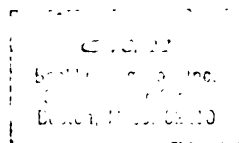


REFERENCE TO PLAN OF GRANADA

BUILDINGS AND PLACES

1. Hospital of San Lazaro
2. Church of San Juan de Letran
3. Hermitage of Santo Cristo de Yedra
4. San Bruno and the Cartuja
5. The Sacro Monte
6. The Tumba Sagrada
7. Cavalry Barracks
8. San Juan de Dios
9. The Street of San Juan de Dios
10. Lunatic Asylum
11. Bull Ring
12. San Ildefonso and Plaza de Triunfo
13. Municipal Offices
14. Puerta de Elvira
15. Puerta de Monaita
16. San Andres
17. Children's Hospital
18. Municipal Offices
19. Santos Justo and Pastor
20. Institute of Music
21. Botanic Gardens and the Convent of "La Piedad"
22. Plaza Rull and Plaza Godinos
23. Convent of "La Encarnacion"
24. Santa Paula
25. Calle Elvira
26. San Geronimo
27. The "Balcon de Orlando"
28. San Diego
29. San Gregorio
30. San Luis
31. Moorish Walls
32. San Miguel "El Mas Grande"
33. Puerta de los Estandartes
34. El Salvador
35. San Jose
36. Convent "del Angel"
37. Seminary
38. The Cathedral
39. Provincial Government Office
40. School of Economics
41. The Market and Archiepiscopal Palace
42. Plaza de Rib-Rambia
43. Convent of Augustines and La Magdalena
44. Casa de Gracia
45. Puentezuelas
46. Plaza del General Prim
47. Casa Consistorial
48. Santa Teresa
49. Convent of the "Espiritu Santo"
50. Garrison Headquarters
51. Convent "de la Carmelita"
52. Lepers' Hospital
53. Santa Ana
54. Santa Inés
55. Convent of the "Concepcion"
56. San Juan de los Reyes
57. Ex-Convent of the "Victoria"
58. Torre de la Vela del Alhambra
59. The Alhambra
60. Puerta de las Granadas
61. Puerta de la Judicaria
62. The Generalife
63. Puerta de Hierro
64. San Francisco
65. Silla del Moro
66. The Tower of Seven Floors
67. The Bridge of "Expiacion"
68. Puerta del Sol
69. Convent of Santa Catalina
70. Ecce Homo
71. San Cecilio and Military Hospital
73. Santa Escolastica
74. Convent of Capuchin and Santa Maria Egipciana
75. San Anton
76. Gas Works
77. Abattoir
78. San Sebastian and the Avenida del Violon
79. Las Angustias
80. The "Salon"
81. Convent of Santiago
82. Museum of Fine Arts
83. Monument of Mariana
84. Artillery Barracks
85. Teatro Principal (Calle de Bailen)
86. The "Plaza Nueva"
87. Zacatin
88. Fish-market
89. Church of Santiago
90. San Nicolas
91. Convent of "Tomasas"
92. Vermilion Towers
93. Palace of Carlos V.
94. Puerta de los Molinos
95. San Basil
96. The Recreation Ground
97. The Cemetery
98. Convent of San Bernado and the Church
99. San Bartolome
100. Avenida de San Basil
101. San Cristobel
102. Hospital of Corpus Christi
103. Santa Isabel la Real, and San Miguel el Menor
104. Santa Maria (ancient Mosque of the Alhambra)
105. San Matias
106. Puerta de Fajalauza
107. Calle de Reyes Catolicos

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